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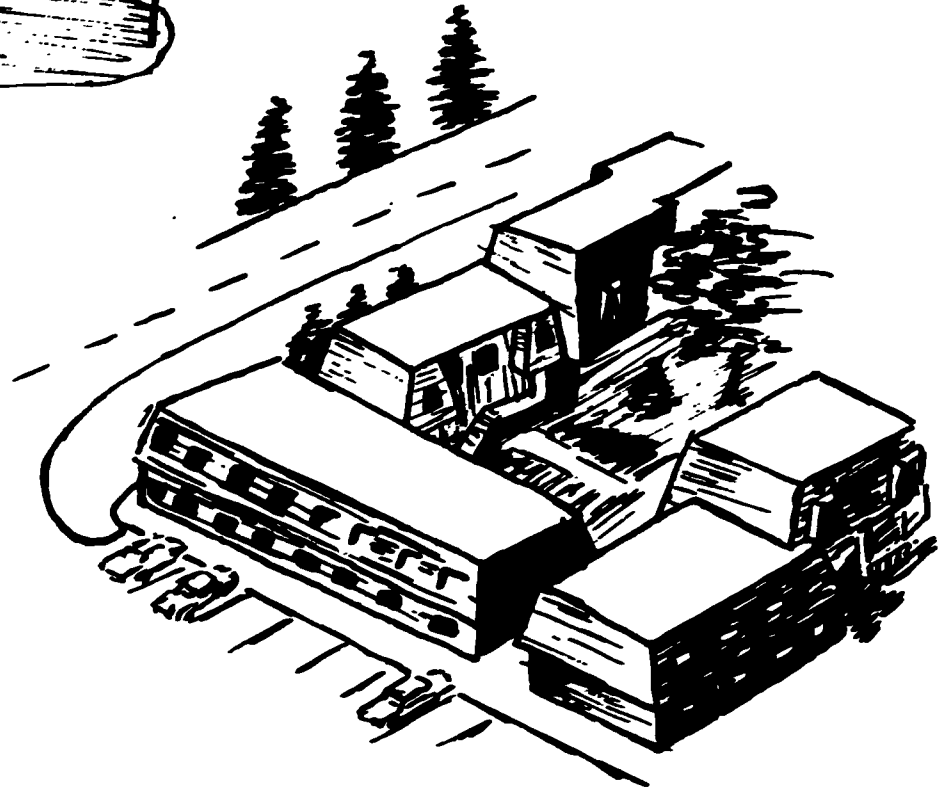
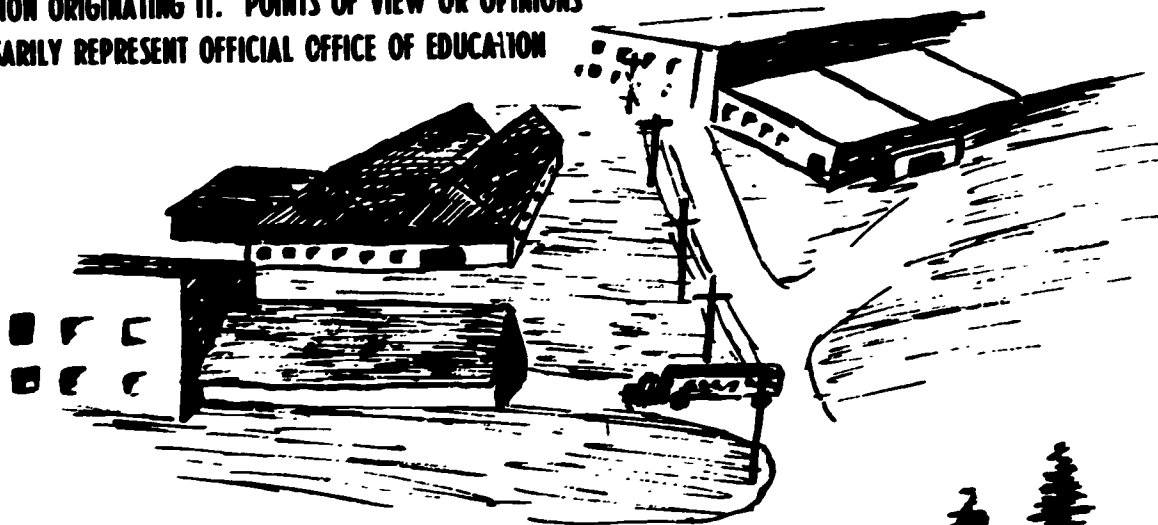
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Using a grant under Title I of the Higher Education Act, during the 1967-1968 school year Paducah Junior College initiated a series of seminars for community leaders on the problems of urbanization. The program subsequently was expanded--(1) to present a series of public lectures on topics related to community needs, (2) to create a working relationship between the city administration and the academic community to gather data on community conditions by using the research facilities of the university, and (3) to initiate an experimental program in the performing arts in disadvantaged areas to develop rapport which could be used in solving community problems. The public lectures, which make up the bulk of the report, deal with urban renewal efforts in St. Louis, a low-income housing project in Paducah, the status of civic beautification in the city, and ways that a community can attract desirable industry. Also included is a brief descriptive final report on the activities and expenditures of the project. (EF)

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SEMINAR ON URBAN TRANSFORMATION

PRESENTED AT
PADUCAH JUNIOR COLLEGE

Edited by

Donald J. Clemens,
Charles G. Smith, and
John E. L. Robertson

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PREFACE

During the 1967-1968 school year, Paducah Junior College received federal grant 67-006-015 under Title I of the Higher Education Act to conduct a series of seminars and related activities dealing with urban transformation. The co-directors of this project were Mr. B. Coles Mallory, City Manager of Paducah and holder of an M.A. in Governmental Administration from the Fels Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, and Charles G. Smith, Ph.D. in Zoology from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Mr. Mallory left to accept a position as City Manager of Newport, R. I. early in 1968, and was replaced by D. J. Clemens, Ed.D., Academic Dean of Paducah Junior College. Assistance in editing the reports for publication was given by John E. L. Robertson, M.A. in History from the University of Louisville and currently working toward a Ph.D. in history at the University of Kentucky.

We would like to thank Julia Miller for the sketch used on the cover.

The editors would like to express their appreciation for the patience and good humor of Mary Ann Jones during the numerous revisions of parts of this book.

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The cover was designed and executed
by Julia Miller, who graduated from
Paducah Junior College in the spring of
1968.

Paducah Junior College is unique; it is the only public tax-supported junior college in the state that is not a part of the System of Community Colleges of the University of Kentucky; however, this independent status is to end in July of this year, 1968. As a public supported institution we feel a particular duty to serve the needs of the people of our community and to tailor programs to meet these demands. As a part of this continuing community responsibility Paducah Junior College presented a series of seminars on "Problems in Urbanization" during the school year 1966-1967. This program was made possible by a grant of \$2,457.00 under Title I of the Higher Education Act. Our goal for this series was to present to the community leadership the current thinking of experts from the academic and the practical world. Thus, we provided to a select group from the "power structure" of Paducah and McCracken County the opportunity to study the forces affecting urban life today and sought to stimulate their thinking toward finding some solution to counter the eroding force of urban disintegration and to produce in our community a holistic environment conducive to growth of all segments of society. Reaction to this initial series was favorable. Representative papers were collected and made available to our community and other interested parties. Having attracted the "creative minority" with our first program, we aimed our series for this academic year at that more numerous stratum of society that plays the role of "follower" in community life and is necessary to implement the programs inaugurated by the leaders. It was to attract this element that determined topics and speakers for the series of forums held during 1967-1968.

Change is a process; each phase of this process requires a different set of participants. Since our original program had been aimed at the "creative minority," and had been successful in arousing their interest, now was the time to institute three additional steps. Paducah Junior College received the current grant under Title I to put these steps into action: (1) to present a series of five lectures by prominent speakers upon topics geared to community needs; also to allow interested parties to engage in direct question and answer sessions with the guest speakers after each lecture to better assess and implement the ideas presented in the forum paper; (2) to open channels of understanding and communication between the academic community and the local administration by gathering data on actual community conditions through use of research facilities of a major university; and (3) to initiate an experimental program in taking the performing arts, such as drama, music, painting, and other cultural programs, to depressed areas in hopes of establishing rapport with this subculture that might prove to be a vital link in the process of creative reform of regional problems.

As the papers presented to the community are included in this volume and can speak for themselves, it would be appropriate to speak here of the success of the third step in our program-- the program of cultural rapport. Jacquelyn W. Clark developed this aspect of our program into a major project. What had started as almost an after-thought became the most beneficial aspect of the project. Her work with experimental theatre reached nearly three thousand persons in

the area served by Paducah Junior College. Among the plays offered were representative works from recognized authors as well as works from other countries. The presentations were The Happy Journey to Camden and Trenton, an one-act experimental work by Thornton Wilder, Marian Kleinau's Interpretation of Lorca's Poetry, and Fox In A Fix, a work in three acts by Lois Dean. The latter play was taken to the various elementary schools in the area with obviously appreciative audiences. Being interested in establishing contact with the urban poor, we felt that the best place to make such a linkage would be with those whose aspirations have not yet been blunted beyond recall. If they are to escape their milieu of despair, they must have some appreciation of what is possible to one who seeks. Thus, we aimed to stimulate them to aspire beyond their environments, even through fantasy, hoping to awaken them to rise above their reality.

The papers which follow are arranged in the order in which they were presented at Paducah Junior College. No great effort was made to attract the public; we felt that public service announcements were sufficient to attract those who had the interest of the community at heart. The average attendance was thirty, except for the final session. Representatives from the city administration attended as did other interested citizens. Following the formal speech, the guest speaker made himself available for questioning. The spirit and the caliber of these questions indicated the interest of those attending. We feel fortunate to close one phase in the life of our institution with this program designed to improve community conditions.

On November 30, 1967, the first speaker in the series of public addresses dealing with urban problems sponsored by Paducah Junior College and made possible by a federal grant under title I of the Higher Education Act was Mr. Gordon L. Hopper, Executive Director, "Downtown St. Louis, Inc." Anyone who has visited St. Louis recently knows of the significance of the organization served by Mr. Hopper as a vehicle for urban change. Entire precincts have been renovated and restored; the water front has been reclaimed from urban apathy. A community with even a modicum of blight would benefit from the practical experience of one involved in such a major program of reclamation; and Paducah has more than a smattering of inadequate housing. While our problems may not be as extensive nor do they lie in a contiguous location, we do face similar tasks. Both cities are located at the confluence of major rivers; both serve as marketing and shopping centers for an extensive hinterland (comparable on relative terms).

The citizens of Paducah knew of the success of St. Louis and hoped to imitate that transformation in this community; therefore, their reception of this initial program was warm and friendly.

NEW HOPE FOR AN OLD CITY

By Gordon L. Hopper

St. Louis is an old city. In 1964 we celebrated our 200th anniversary. At one time St. Louis was the Queen city of the Mississippi River -- the dominant metropolis of the midwest.

Founded to outfit fur trappers and to profit from their harvests, St. Louis reached her zenith as America's greatest inland port in the heyday of river transportation. For more than a century St. Louis, strategically located just below the confluence of the Mississippi, Missouri and Illinois rivers, grew and prospered on an economy undergirded by river transportation.

With the extension of railroads to the west, Chicago developed as the prime national rail transportation hub. St. Louis recognized the challenge to the steamboats posed by this emerging form of transportation, and in the 1870's James Eads built his magnificent bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis to establish the first major railroad link from east to west over the river.

At this point in time St. Louis began to turn her back on the Mississippi which had given the city its birth and looked westward with the steel rails and locomotives that promised a dramatic transformation in transportation.

One can measure the decline of St. Louis from this point. The decline was not instantaneous. The city continued to grow and prosper, but its pre-eminence was lost to Chicago which had moved faster and more energetically to exploit the nation's rail potential.

In 1904 St. Louis made a splendid effort to regain its lost

momentum and diminished stature by staging the still-remember World's Fair on a scale that still has not been exceeded. This effort had the effect of rallying public spirit and sparking much rebuilding within the city. However this result was of fleeting duration. Within a few short years the community again settled down to rest comfortably on its laurels and to proudly contemplate its significant achievements of the past.

For more than half a century St. Louis marked time while the nation marched ahead.

Moving ahead to 1935 -- more than thirty years after the great World's Fair -- St. Louis was a city of almost unanimous complacency. There were a few visionary citizens however who realized that the complacency was really the outward symptoms of a state of civic decay. Nowhere was the decay more strikingly evident than on the city's downtown riverfront.

What once had been a teeming, active, productive river port had become a commercial slum supporting a vast array of warehouses, gin houses, flop houses, and worse. The riverfront that once had nourished a great city had developed a cancerous growth that was sapping our economic strength and civic will.

The very worst part of this riverfront area lay just south of Captain Eads' historic bridge, some three blocks wide and more than half a mile long. It had become a barrier between the central business district and the river. It discouraged local residents as well as visitors from going down to the river. It was the sordid

sight that greeted the millions of persons who entered the city from the east each year.

In that year of 1935 two dedicated St. Louisans -- Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann and a local attorney, Luther Ely Smith -- had a dream for the development of this strategic segment of the riverfront. The dream was in the form of a vast national park dedicated to the men who explored and opened the great western territories of America and who used St. Louis as their advance base of operations.

In 1935 when the term "urban renewal" probably had not yet been coined, and certainly there were no active federal urban renewal programs, Mayor Dickmann and Luther Smith prevailed upon the federal government to pledge \$18 million to match \$6 million in local funds for the purpose of clearing away the old structures in this 90-acre riverfront area and to create a national park to be known as the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.

Those who work with urban renewal today, when it has become a recognized and tested technique, might appreciate the problems that were confronted in attempting to implement an urban renewal program -- through the Department of Interior -- even before there was any such animal as urban renewal. Suffice to say that Smith and Dickmann and those who joined ranks with them encountered unbelievable roadblocks in the form of lawsuits as they attempted to acquire land; problems in obtaining the pledged federal funds; problems of relocation, and problems with historians who indignantly demanded that certain buildings in the area had to be saved. They also encountered the

depression years, World War II, and its aftermath of material and labor shortages.

It then is little wonder that by the middle 50's the wonderful dream that had seemed well on its way to reality twenty years before had not progressed beyond land clearance and the interim development of a gigantic riverfront parking lot. It is understandable that many St. Louisans, at this point, wished they had never heard of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. Many hoped the project would stop where it was so they could continue to park downtown for 25¢ a day. Completion of the Memorial and the erection of the big steel wishbone that Eero Saarinen had designed for the park would only result in eliminating all that cheap parking -- the arch would cost too much even if it could be built, and nobody was really sure it could be built anyway, and even if it could be built what good would it be. So why not forget the whole project and use the money to build a new hospital or something useful and sensible.

This was a common attitude at the time as it related to the riverfront. If such sentiments had been confined to the riverfront alone it would not have been quite so bad, but this attitude symbolized a general civic lethargy in which no new office buildings or hotels were being erected, for example -- this despite an expanding economy and growing urban population. Despite the fact that downtown office buildings were more than 95% filled and prospective tenants clamored for more space, no one would take a flier on a new building. Major cities across the country were building urban expressways as fast as

they could pass bond issues to match available federal funds. St. Louis was thinking about this need while more and more automobiles choked our inadequate streets. Residents were leaving St. Louis for new homes in the suburbs and creating a residential vacuum that was filled by rural immigrants -- negroes from the south and whites from the Ozarks. Little or nothing was done to train these people in the complicated techniques of urban living or to help them assume productive roles in a metropolitan community. When they were recognized at all, it was when they were condemned for creating slums, adding to the welfare roles and the increasing crime rates. Shopping centers were beginning to develop outside the downtown area yet nothing was being done to counteract this movement by enhancing the downtown retail scene.

It was little wonder that many St. Louisans fatalistically sat back to watch the city die. It was at this point that Life Magazine, after looking at our city, said "St. Louis is a city settled down long after its most spectacular surge of success has passed" and called her a "dowager city".

It would be a gross over simplification to blame all St. Louis' early and middle twentieth century problems on the abandonment of the Mississippi riverfront. But it is historically documented that the renewal of activity along the river coincided with a general city renewal that now extends throughout the downtown area which stretches some 18 blocks to the west as well as into vast areas in every sector of the city.

In mid-1959 -- 24 years after President Roosevelt signed the bill creating the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial -- a groundbreaking ceremony was held to signify start of actual construction work on the Memorial site. At last the 3,000 car parking lot was to be converted to its intended use. Sparodic cheers were heard in the community but by and large they were drowned out by the pessimists' predictions that the park would still never be built.

Saarinen had designed his 630-foot-high stainless steel arch to be the crown jewel of the park. We adopted this as the symbol of the new Downtown St. Louis. Many chided us for choosing a fictional symbol, but there were a few who believed in it. One who did was Lewis Kitchen of Kansas City, who declared that such a monument in a park overlooking the Mississippi River would provide an ideal vista for luxury downtown apartments. He and a local associate, Paul Lashly, began plans for such a development on the faith that the riverfront would develop.

Another believer was Charles Farris, then Director of our urban renewal agency, who realized that the Memorial could spark still other adjacent developments. He presented a bold plan for a magnificent new stadium within the shadow of the Gateway Arch.

Still another believer was a young real estate man, Ray Wittcoff, who started construction of a new office building to overlook the Memorial even while its fate was in question. He purchased other depressed land in the vicinity on the faith that the area would support still more commercial development in the foreseeable future.

The City Plan Commission believed in the future of the riverfront, too. It translated its faith into a dramatic plan for downtown that focused on the riverfront and recognized that this would become the most dominant single element which would dictate the total future development of downtown.

These scattered indications of confidence and stuttering starts of activity in mid-1959 and early 1960 had a telling effect on the city. Gradually people began to listen to the believers. Few were convinced, but most of them were interested.

By mid-1960 the Memorial area was being graded into a semblance of its eventual form and the National Park Service was wrestling with final plans of construction of the arch. Kitchen and Lashly had developed plans for their residential complex overlooking the park. The City had officially declared as blighted for redevelopment six blocks where the apartment development was proposed.

Here I would like to digress briefly to outline the unique state Urban Redevelopment Corporation Law which has been a key to much of our riverfront development. This law defines blighted urban areas as those in which concentrations of deteriorated and outmoded structures contribute to transmission of disease, are detrimental to public welfare and morals, are unsightly and unsafe, and which are an economic or social liability. The law further provides that when a local governing body finds such areas it can officially declare them blighted. When such action has been taken, properly constituted private redevelopment corporations may submit plans for the development of all or a part of

such blighted areas. After such plans are reviewed by the City Plan Commission and the Land Clearance Authority, they are transmitted, with recommendations, to the Board of Aldermen. When a plan receives the approval of the Board of Aldermen the development corporation is given authority to proceed with its proposed project.

Since this process is deemed to be in the public interest, the redevelopment corporation is vested with the power of eminent domain to enable it to assemble property in the blighted area through condemnation if it cannot be acquired by negotiations. Additionally, complete tax relief on improvements in the area is granted for a period of ten years and 50% tax relief is provided for the ensuing fifteen years. However, the developer continues to pay taxes on the land itself for the entire period.

This has been a powerful renewal tool that has been used widely and, we hope, judiciously in the process of rebuilding our downtown. We will refer to this law on several occasions so felt it appropriate to clarify its terms at this point.

It was under this Missouri Law that the land for the Kitchen-Lashly Mansion House project was declared blighted. Under the terms of this law they perfected their plans for submission to the city. Their residential project would ultimately occupy most of five blocks. Another project would be submitted and approved for the remaining block. In the process a severely depressed area of long-vacant, outmoded commercial structures would disappear and a new facade for the city would be created.

At the same time, plans for the development of Charlie Farris' dream of a stadium began to attract increasing interest and attention. (In the process the sports editors of both our newspapers became staunch urban renewal advocates -- an unlikely but thoroughly welcome source of interest.)

When it became obvious that the city's bonded indebtedness was at a point that wouldn't support an additional bond issue for construction of the stadium, the business community began looking into the possibility of forming a redevelopment corporation to build the stadium with private money under the Missouri Urban Redevelopment Corporations Law. However, as a private venture, a stadium alone failed every economic feasibility test. As a result the stadium concept was vastly enlarged to provide for a development that would eventually encompass some 21 square blocks and which would include such supplementary revenue-producing facilities as parking garages, commercial buildings, entertainment and cultural accommodations and a major convention hotel.

At this point in time many of the key pieces in our downtown renewal jigsaw puzzle were beginning to fit together. The key piece was the plan and fitted into this key was the piece represented by urban environment and excitement in the form of the emerging Jefferson Memorial. Another important piece, downtown residential development, was represented by the planned Mansion House Center. Several pieces, consisting of downtown recreation, entertainment, parking and new commercial strength, were represented by the new proposed stadium project. Added were pieces indicated by expressways -- completed,

under construction and planned -- to provide the needed improvement in access. Identifiable in the puzzle pattern were other more isolated pieces such as a new office building -- a planned new hotel -- another residential development.

A picture was beginning to appear and it was looking very like the familiar drawing the city planners had presented in their plan for the new Downtown St. Louis.

Those who were most closely related to the entire program of renewal that was underway began to thrill at the quickening pulse of activity. Yet even these persons suffered along with the community during the period of impatience around 1961 and 1962 when the plans were being perfected prior to construction -- during the agonizing processes of financing, land acquisition and site preparation -- all the details necessary to permit the builders to move in.

In late 1962 work finally began on the arch -- a job that was to take nearly three years to complete. In a single week in the summer of 1963 ground breakings were held for both the \$89,000,000 Civic Center Busch Memorial Stadium project and the \$52,000,000 Mansion House Center. Again, we were to wait another three years before these projects would be completed. But, at last, the plans had been translated into action. Brick and mortar, steel and glass, new concrete forms were beginning to tower over the old downtown skyline.

Broad ribbons of new expressways now began to approach and circle the downtown area. Encouraged by such developments, owners of many older properties began to make significant investments in the

renovations of their office buildings and retail establishments. Private investment capital was being attracted from local and out-of-town sources.

Ten years after Life Magazine had described St. Louis as a "dowager city", a team of Time magazine reporters came to town. They left to report a strikingly different story. While they lauded what obviously was in the works, they had visited us during the period between demolition and significant new construction. They states, "the status symbol among United States cities today is the bombed out look". In this context we had achieved status to spare with more than 200 acres of our prime downtown land having been laid low. As Time said, the area was "crawling with helmeted workers, snorting earthmovers and angular cranes".

Up to this point we have attempted to convey some of the historical background which preceded and made mandatory the development which now has been consummated on our riverfront and in the downtown area. We have tried to indicate the problems and the agonizing that accompanied the process of rebuilding. We feel this is necessary to indicate the immensity of redeveloping the heart of a large old city. In no sense can the process be compared to the development of a new suburban shopping and commercial center, for example. The problems of land acquisition, of demolition, of relocation, etc. which are encountered in an old, densely occupied downtown area are infinitely more costly, time consuming and complex than in carving an equivalent development out of raw land. The process requires an expertise and

patience and cooperation in a degree that is extremely hard to come by.

One might legitimately question whether the expense and effort is justified. Isn't it just possible that more good could have been accomplished with less investment by abandoning the downtown -- or leaving it as it was -- and by developing a series of satellite centers in strategic locations around the urban area, in closer proximity to the decentralized residences of people? There are those who argue this position with significant conviction and logic. Earlier this week I heard a professor of urban planning from a prominent university say approximately this in an address.

But we in St. Louis believe that actions still do speak louder than words. We believe that we have begun to illustrate a new hope for old cities through a downtown rebuilding program that has transformed a drab and dying area into an exciting, pulsating and increasingly attractive central business district.

Since 1958 more than \$500,000,000 in private and public funds have been invested in the downtown area to bring about this transformation. Today we have a virtually completed Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. Last year it attracted in excess of four and a half million visitors. Our new stadium was completed last year and in that first full year of operation brought another two and a half million persons into the downtown area. In addition it has provided an additional 7,200 off-street parking spaces in four garages which are so located that they serve downtown shoppers and workers when there are no stadium events. The stadium also has provided prime space for the erection of

a new 480-room hotel with major convention facilities. Another portion of the project area is being utilized for the new Pet, Inc. international headquarters. A second major office building now is being designed for the area. The Spanish Pavilion from the New York World's Fair is being rebuilt on still another two-block site in this 21-block urban renewal area.

Mansion House Center, with three 28-story apartment towers providing a total of 1248 apartment units, adds a new dimension to the downtown skyline, and is attracting people into the area as permanent residents. But in its final development Mansion House has become more than just an apartment project. It actually is a total new downtown environment in which the apartments are combined with three small attractive commercial structures which have a total of some 200,000 square feet of space for offices and retail specialty operations. A park-like elevated pedestrian promenade connects the entire development and forms a roof over a parking facility with 1750 automobile spaces for residents and commercial tenants.

These three major urban renewal undertakings have served as stimulators of vitally-needed new improvements under private initiative. New hotels such as the Bel Air East are succeeding in formerly run-down areas. New office buildings are being erected and are being filled with tenants. In the 1960's we already have erected more than 2,000,000 square feet of new office space -- more than in any previous decade in the city's history. Indications are that before the end of the decade at least another million square feet of space will be on the market

downtown to put us in a better position to capitalize on the rapidly-expanding white collar work force.

Our two major department stores have each spent more than a million dollars in recent extensive modernization of their downtown retail facilities. Both have also invested in the neighborhood of \$2,000,000 to provide parking facilities immediately adjacent to their stores to rival the parking draw of their suburban operations.

A number of old but sound buildings have been completely renovated to bring them up to present day standards. An outstanding example is the Locust Building, a long vacant loft structure which has been totally redone inside and out in the process of conversion to a modern office structure. This investment is paying off in terms of a 95 percent occupancy experience.

These are illustrations of what has happened in the 60's. This experience shows what can and has happened in one American city where business and government joins forces in an attitude of creative cooperation to study and attack the problems that threatened us. This discourse, by necessity of time, has excluded much that has happened in St. Louis in recent years such as the completely master-planned 450-acre sub-city that is being created in Mill Creek Valley, just west of downtown, under a Federal urban renewal program. We don't have time to dwell on a 200-acre industrial and commercial urban development project a half-mile south of the central business district or the residential conservation and rehabilitation that is currently underway in the west end of the city. Suffice to say, the creative cooperation

that has added new hope to our downtown picture is at work throughout the city.

But, there is another side to the downtown -- riverfront picture. This side involves the unfulfilled opportunities that remain. This is represented by the approximately 21 acres of downtown riverfront still very much in the same condition that the Jefferson National expansion Memorial was thirty years ago. Here we have established blighting under the Missouri law and thus have been able to stimulate interest in development of the area which adjoins the downtown core on the west and the Jefferson Memorial on the south.

Another unfulfilled opportunity was presented in the Downtown Master Plan as a majestic mall which would run 18 blocks to the west of the Gateway Arch to establish an important and exciting civic open space -- which would emphasize the scale and beauty of the arch. This past summer we conducted a major national architectural competition for design of this mall and its periphery. A plan that is striking in its simplicity was selected from the 75 entries that came from throughout the United States. We now encounter the challenge to bring this project to fruition -- again through cooperative private-public efforts that always must be involved in non-revenue-producing improvements.

Pockets and strips of under-productive properties still exist in numerous locations in the downtown area. We find ourselves today unwilling to rationalize their continued existence, yet are frustrated in reaching decisions as to how to deal with such properties, many of which are isolated blots in otherwise productive locations.

Perhaps the most encouraging sign of all is that these problems are being debated, not just by the professional planners and urban renewal men, but by businessmen and politicians, housewives and students.

We are convinced that we will arrive at solutions to our new problems and opportunities. But of infinitely more importance is the fact that the solutions will be public solutions arrived at with the active advise of concerned citizens. Important to us is the fact that the downtown problems now are being regarded as public problems -- not just the concern of the downtown businessmen.

This is what we have ultimately been aiming for. In our accelerating development, we have tried to keep foremost in our minds that in the end whether we succeed or fail depends upon how well we plan and build for people -- how well we meet their needs and their aspirations for a fuller, more productive life.

Let me illustrate my point with a true story. An acquaintance of mine had banked for years with a relatively small and personal sort of bank where everyone knew him and individual attention was taken for granted. This bank was purchased and merged with a giant financial institution some time ago and his account was automatically transferred to the big bank. Shortly thereafter he had occasion to stop by the big bank to check on the balance in his personal account. The young lady at the service counter asked for his account number.

When he informed her he couldn't recall his number and had neglected to bring his account card with him, she replied, "We'll have to have your account number, it's much more important than your name."

The next day he transferred his personal account, his business account and his wife's account -- after looking up all the appropriate numbers, of course.

So, in this whole process of growth and development -- whether it involves a company or a city -- we cannot, for one minute, permit ourselves to forget that those for whom we are building are people rather than account numbers or statistical ciphers.

The pioneer city planner Daniel Burnham implored us to "Make no little plans -- they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably will not themselves be realized. Make big plans. Aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing asserting itself with ever-growing consistency." -- To which I would reply, "Fine, Mr. Burnham, but within the framework of the big plans, let's keep us little people in mind to assure that the plans will be realized."

In our complex society, prosperity is a function of productivity; therefore, a prime concern of an urban community is to attract and hold industry. Systems of transportation and other aspects of community infrastructure often require modification to meet the demands of prospective firms; relations conducive to swaying the decision of a plants owners to locate in one city instead of another result from the spirit expressed by a community; both of these factors - the tangible and the intangible - are examined in the following paper of Mr. Robert Harmon, Executive Vice-President of the Canton, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce. This address was given at Paducah Junior College, January 30, 1968, and was edited from a tape of that speech by John E. L. Robertson.

WHAT SHOULD A COMMUNITY DO TO ATTRACT INDUSTRY?

By Robert Harmon

I am somewhat familiar with your area. I was here a good many years ago but I didn't recognize it after about twenty years.

Let's talk about industrial development. I was on television a few minutes ago and they said: "Could you sum this up quickly in a couple of minutes - in a couple of words?" That would be very difficult to do. Industrial development, as far as I am concerned, and as far as industry is concerned, is no different from being in business. It is not a hit-or-miss proposition any longer. I started with the Chamber of Commerce twenty-two years ago and have worked in chambers of commerce continuously for twenty-two years. When I started there were 700 active community development groups that were interested in industrial development. Some of them only had lip service, but there were about that many who had successful programs or financing. Today, there are over 13,000 in the United States. It takes a well-defined program in order to undertake industrial development. You can dream about it and you can talk about it; but, unless you are prepared to do it, you might as well stay out of it because the competition is rough.

It's the same kind of competition that you have in Business where many people are after the consumer dollar.

I probably shouldn't say this, but we have a prospect in our community at the present time of getting a branch of the same company as you have down here and we are not the only community. They are probably looking at forty communities to start with. This is a game that is not unlike pitching horseshoes. Close doesn't count - there are

no seconds. You only get paid for the score that is on the scoreboard and there is only one winner, so you have to be prepared.

So to sum it up in the word I used on television - which you may see later on tonight or tomorrow - it takes cooperation, and we are talking about cooperation involving everybody in the community. We are talking about good city and county government. We are talking about cooperation among the business people themselves. We are talking about the kind of cooperation we need from the school system that is going to prepare the young folks that are coming along to be properly educated for the type of industry that you are seeking to attract into your area. We are talking about more and more technical vocations. We are talking about more facilities such as you are in now. I don't know too much about your facilities, but from what I have seen so far, it looks beautiful; and I know it is serving a good purpose when you reach this many students. We need more interest in the community and more educational facilities in order to do the job. More money is going to be needed from Industry and Business accordingly. More trained people out talking to the prospects; and, of course, this takes more money to do the job. So we are talking about a total package - putting a total concept together for industrial development. This is what it is going to take. This is what it takes in the communities that are successful.

I believe Kentucky had one of the first municipal bonding laws in the country. It has been successful. It has attracted new industry. It's nice to be first, but, eventually, somebody catches up with you. In fact, in the state of Ohio we finally caught up with you just a short

while ago as far as municipal bonding is concerned. Even this program is indefinite. I just attended a conference during the last four days in Toledo having to do with industrial development that was attended by about 350 people from the five Great Lakes states. We were informed by experts, who should be knowledgeable, that probably not this session of Congress but the next would see municipal financing laws done away with and no longer be legal in any of the fifty states. So, where do we go from here?

There really doesn't seem to be too much opposition to doing away with this law except in a few of the southern states. Most of the industrial developers are private enterprise industrial developers, doing this for a living. I feel that if municipal financing is done away with in all fifty states at one time, it will give everybody the same competition or the lack of competition. I think we have to be prepared for the next step. We are going back to the thing that is closest to my heart, which, in my opinion, can only be best done over a long period of time through private enterprise. Now let's talk a little about this prospect and some of the steps that lead up to it.

I had an opportunity to go through your very excellent literature. You have done a good job in putting the story together for your community. But remember, as you mail that piece of literature to even the top 500 corporations in the United States, you are not finished - this is only a small part of it. Each one of those corporations has a library that the literature goes in. If the literature you are sending is important enough, they are going to

keep it for a short period of time. If it isn't updated every three months, it probably is going to be taken out of the library and thrown away; so if you are sending something to the top 500 corporations in the United States, keep it up to date. This is not easy and it is not cheap. It can't be done by an under-staffed Chamber of Commerce; however, if you want success, you have to do the job right. To put it simply, I am going to try to keep mine up to date and so are some many other thousands. You are in rough competition; this is what you must face. You can't send your literature out and hope it is going to hit somebody's desk on the right day - this is the day they are going to make a decision. It doesn't work that way.

Let me give you a good example of why you must have cooperation. Are you really geared to attracting industry to the community? Basically, who would be the first person that I would talk to as I came into your community? Perhaps tonight is not a good example as I didn't arrive as most people arrive. Most people coming into your community are going to drive into your community and take a look, so who is the first person they are going to talk to? The service station attendant. You would be surprised how many times this is true. Go out and try this tomorrow. Go down here to the corner station where you are not known and just say to the service attendant: "Gee, I drove into town and saw what kind of community this is." I will lay you odds that fifty per cent of the time he will tell you what is wrong with the community before he tells you what is right with it. This is only human nature. If you are coming into town by

airplane and you don't have someone nice enough like Earl to meet you, who is the person you talk to first? The taxi cab driver. Ask the taxi cab driver what they know about your community and you would be surprised. They know where the night life is and they may know other things, but do they really know the good points? One of the little secrets of success of Toledo, Ohio, is that they put a stereo outfit in every taxi cab. While the music is playing you have roughly two minutes of music, then you have one minute of speech about Toledo, Ohio, telling you what a nice place it is. Another two minutes of music and you have one minute of something else about Toledo. It's the little things that count. That is where the competition is today. The taxi cab driver's wife may not have kissed him this morning when he got out of bed, or she sent him out with a burnt meal or whatever it might be, so perhaps he is disgruntled today. He doesn't have to make the speech about Toledo, Ohio. It is all made for him. Perhaps he doesn't know enough about it.

If industry is interested in your community (and let's keep focused on the top 500 firms, some of which you already have), they are going to hire a team of experts, both men and women. They will send such teams into your community to go into your stores and purchase white shirts and other things. While they are in the store they are going to say to the clerk, "What do you know about the community? What do you think of this community. Do you like this community?" Are your clerks properly trained? Do they know anything about your community--at least the things they should? Stop and think

about yourself for a minute. Do you know the good points of your own community? I had an opportunity on three airplanes this afternoon to go back through the literature that you had sent to me previously. Perhaps tonight I know more about your community than you do. Have you really refreshed yourself on what are the good points of your community?

As you find prospects, look at your community and say:

There are certain types of industry that we can't support and there are many types that we could. We need diversification. We now have a chemical complex; we now have these various things. We don't have any particular plant that is employing women. We should have an assembly plant or perhaps an electronics plant as we have women with good finger dexterity. Let's make a survey to determine what we need. Can we really tell industry how many people are available for work? We could take some figures and say, "All right, fine, a couple of thousand people will come." This guess would give you a ten to one ratio. It would be better to have knocked on doors lately and have said to the people in the houses, "If you had the right type of an industry in your community, would you work?"

Have specific information - not hopes. These are the type of things I am talking about. Do you really know your community? Because this is what industry is going to expect from you when they visit your community if you are among the final ten sites under consideration.

Now, let me give you some of the examples that happened to me in the past. During my twenty-one years, I've had my good ones and my bad ones. I've pulled some of the biggest blunders in the United States I'm sure.

One of the top ten corporations in the United States came into our community after being invited and a period of nine months of negotiation ensued. If it hadn't been for a couple of good office

girls, the Chamber of Commerce would have ceased to function because I think I spent at least six hours a day, every day, five days a week, for nine months with these people. They would send somebody in the community and they would last two or three days before they would wear them out and we would send them home. A couple of days later, someone else on the team would show up and we are supposed to be fresh enough to keep going. We would get down to the fact that they were looking at the site and the site was the best that they can find. So what do they ask us to do? No more than you ask an automobile dealer to do when the chips are down and you want to buy an automobile. Industry is going to get the best deal it can get for its money and you can't blame anyone for doing this. This is the way that they are going to make a profit. They look at a site and they say, "All right, fine, here are 188 acres and that's about what we need. Now here's what we expect."

Once a call came to me at 11:30 on Friday night at my home. The visitation team from that industry had left on Friday morning and never said a word about a decision. On the 'phone, they said: "In a bank account deposited in your name on Monday morning will be \$3,000. We want you to hire a surveying crew to survey the 188 acres. Give us a legal discription of that property. Give us a topographical map every 100 feet of that property. The survey crew must be on the job at 7:00 A.M. Monday morning. Will you please hire them? If they can't start Monday morning, don't hire that crew. Find ones that can. We think it can be done for less than the \$3,000 that's in your name.

No one is to know who it is and within two weeks we want forty prints of that topographical map on our desk, ready for us to go to work."

Have you ever tried to find a survey crew after 11:00 on Friday night to go to work on a Saturday morning when there's only a couple of surveyors in the community that's basically the same size as yours - between thirty-five and forty thousand people? It would have been so easy to say, "Sorry, we can't do it." This may be what they expect you to say. All they'll have to do is drive another forty or fifty miles and go to the next community, because they're going to be geared to do the job. We called the surveyor that we knew and said, "When can you go to work?" He was a surveyor that had been a member of an industrial development committee and knew the background of the firm and who realized its importance. He'd already been sold on industrial development, Thank goodness! Because if he hadn't been, he couldn't have done the job. He said, "I'm committed for the next several months. If you can release me from the commitments I have for the next two weeks, I will go to work. On Saturday morning, we called the industrial development committee. They took a list of the people he was going to work for during the next two weeks. They went out and pounded on these doors; they visited these corporations and said, "Sorry, but Joe isn't going to be with you for the next two weeks. We need him for industrial development prospect that means something to the community." Not a person returned the word and said, "I'm sorry but I've got to have Joe." They said, "Okay, fine, but get him back as soon as you can." The surveyor started to work

and found out in a couple of day's time that he could not meet the deadline of two weeks. So he walked that 188 acres and measured that every 100 feet all the way across - and that's a lot of territory when you think about it. We went to the electric utility and said, "We know that this has probably never been asked before but could we talk your drafting crew into working at night. The surveying crew would work during the day and report to me at 5:00. Will your drafting people work at night, put everything down and ready to give back to that surveying crew tomorrow morning to keep it going?" They called their employees in and they accepted. They changed their time schedule from 8:00 to 5:00; from 5:00 to whatever time it took to get the job done and it took them roughly about six days of doing this, working over the weekends. Here's an electric utility that was sold on industrial development. You don't have to sell the top management because they want to sell more power, but the employees had to be sold on the community itself. Ten days after we started, we had the prints for that corporation on the desk and what did they say? They never even said, "Thank you." They expected it. They don't say thanks for a job well done. This is the kind of competition that you are going to need in order to get industrial development today. 13,000 firms or communities around the nation are trying to do this. Let me give you another example of what I am talking about when I say community cooperation will do this job.

Another prospect that we dealt with at another time was equally challenging. We had to put roughly fourteen farms together in

order to get enough ground for this prospect. This was several years ago before industrial parks were common, as they are today. We had acquired thirteen of these farms in the middle of this territory; only to be stymied by a lady about seventy years old, whose husband had died. In his will he had left a statement that he wanted her to remain on that property for the rest of her life; he had left her a life estate that left the title of the ground to her nephew. Somebody has to be the bad fellow, I guess, to try to move this lady off this eighty acre farm in the middle of the site for the good of the community. It took a couple of ministers, a trip to the mayor, several friends, and a few other people; but we finally made it. After we got the fourteen farms put together, at least on a piece of paper, and said we could deliver, out of the clear blue sky we received this telephone call that said, "We would like to have all the abstracts brought up to date (some of which, remember, have not been touched for thirty-five years or something like that) have a legal examination made, secure title insurance for it, and have all this on our desk within seventy-two hours." I don't know how many of you have bought a house recently, but if you get an abstract in thirty days for just a house, you're lucky. We called the abstractors together (there were three or four in the community) and we called the attorneys of the large firm and said "Here's our problem." Believe it or not, forty eight hours after we got everybody together in the Chamber of Commerce office and said, "here's our problem," the job was done. The job abstracts, the title insurance, and everything was taken care

of and laying on the firm's desk. It can be done; in fact, it must be done if you're going to meet the competition today for industrial development. Now, you're saying, can we really do this? Yes, you can do it. It isn't anything super-human. You're not any different from me. You've got a Chamber of Commerce; you've got a group that can get the cooperation, the ^ordination that is going to be needed to do the job.

Let's stop a minute and look at a community. There are two things today that industry looks for: the tangible and intangible! Now, tangibles we all have. We can add them up on a sheet of paper and come up with an estimate whether we are going to make a profit or not. I had a real interesting experience just a few months ago. It was the second time in my life I had been afforded this opportunity. The first time was about three years ago and to show you how things have progressed, I was invited and asked to sit in to a board meeting when a large corporation reached their final decision on what community they were going to pick. It so happened that ours was not one of those communities. We were entirely out of the market. I was asked to be a consultant to sit with them to help them reach their decision. I'm not so sure that they really needed me. As I walked into this room, everything having to do with tangibles and intangibles in these five communities they were looking at, had been put on a computer. One fellow in that room was responsible for each subject. One fellow in that room was an expert on educational facilities, another an expert on water, another an expert on electricity as far as that

particular plant was concerned. As they went around that table they said "Alright, Joe, give us the five figures as to what the electricity bill will run." He gave it to them, it was fed on the computer and shown on a large chart upon the wall with the electronic computer putting the figures in. It was pretty easy to sit there and look at all five on the tangible. The tangibles being, what the water was going to cost, what the gas was going to cost, and what the electric utility was going to cost, what the tax was going to be, what the labor rate was going to be, what kind of union contract can we get and things of this nature. When you took a look at it on that computer there wasn't a nickle's worth of difference among all five communities or they wouldn't have needed the computer to start with. You could almost say to any management team, take any one of the five and you probably will make a profit. The other fifty that had been looked at were out of the picture because, undoubtedly, they couldn't make it.

Then they started down the other end of this chart. These were the intangibles. This is where the human mind of the guy sitting there had to say to himself, "I like this community better than I like that one because the taxi-cab drivers treated me better, the filling-station attendant treated me better, the Chamber of Commerce was a little bit nicer to me when I was there," and things of this nature. This was where the intangibles came in.

What are we talking about? We're talking about the cultural activities in this community. What do they really have to offer?

What are the recreational activities in this community? I read your brochure; and, when it comes to water, shore lines, and boating, which I'm going to have to admit is my favorite, you don't take a back seat to anybody. But not everybody likes boating and swimming and lakes and shore line. What other recreational activities do you have? And I'm not saying you don't have them. Perhaps you do but make sure that you play them up. I know one instance when water recreation was critical to the location of one industry. I was the guy who came in second, so I know about this from the hard way. Everything else was even. We lost that industry because the president found a site on a lake front where he could leave his office at 4:30 that evening and go fishing before he went home.

These are the intangibles. Maybe it's a little thing. The guy owns the plant or he may be the primary stockholder. He didn't have to go to the board of directors to check on what he wants to do. He was going to employ about 150 people - just a nice size industry; but he liked to go fishing. Maybe he would want a tennis court or something else the next time so you have to look at these things. It's the intangibles today that are really more important than the tangibles. You might be able to beat me slightly on the electrical rates, perhaps with the TVA power which you have in this area you may have the lowest rates. I may be able to beat you slightly on the gas rate. I may be able to beat you slightly on some other facility as far as the tangibles, but with recreational facilities for employees, (not necessarily top management because top management is still

working twelve, fourteen, sixteen hours a day these days trying to keep up with most of the computers, as far as I'm concerned). But the employees work thirty-two hours to thirty-five hours a week. What have you got to offer? Not all of the new people are going to live here, but some of them are going to have to move into this area if the community is going to go ahead and expand. You're going to want to bring these additional people in.

So let's look at these intangibles. Another intangible is the educational facilities in your community. Fine, you've got a junior college, you've got a good school system, you've got a good vocational school system teaching technical education. Not every student is going to go to college these days. More and more should. More and more should have a college education, but for the next ten or fifteen years, there are going to be a certain percentage that aren't really geared to go to college. They don't want to go. They want to go out into industry and go to work. Have you trained them when they leave high school? Or maybe post-high school? Maybe their thirteenth year will be in technical education. Have you personnel that benefit the companies that are already here? This is the responsibility of the community. These are the intangibles I am talking about.

I was reminded that intangibles can be put on the computer chart as I was sitting in that room looking at the fellow who had visited all five communities and looked at all five educational facilities. Now, if you were to put them on a piece of paper, the

number of teachers and what they taught and things of this nature, they would look fairly even. Yet, a personal factor was put into the computer and that chart went all over the place because this guy liked one educational facility better than the other - just for personal reasons. Maybe the superintendent of schools had treated the members of the visitation team better. He may have done a better job selling his community than other superintendents of schools. Maybe he was a better salesman; maybe he wasn't a better educator, he was a better salesman. These things are important. When the decision was made by that firm I served as consultant for, the computer was wonderful and it was good window dressing and it did a good job, but the final decision was based upon the personal factor that was represented in the room by the impact of intangibles on individuals. There were many differences in the communities in the way that they were analyzed: Recreational activities, cultural activities, everything was taken into consideration.

More and more today, we're being controlled by Government. We make fewer decisions for ourselves. Right or wrong, this is what's happening. As far as I'm concerned, it's wrong. I'm a firm believer in the free enterprise system. There isn't going to be any free enterprise system left one of these days, as far as business and industry is concerned, unless we in a community are willing to step up and provide the things that industry is going to need to do its job. The training of the student who is going to go into business or industry is extremely important. As far as I'm concerned, education

is extremely important but it takes other things as well, such as the attitude of the worker in the plant. Pick up Time Magazine and look at some of the things it says about industrial employees. It appears, now-a-days, not enough people know that in order to get more money you have to produce more (or at least, the price is going up in order to do the job). They appear to want thirty to thirty-two hours a week. They want more money; they want more fringe benefits; they want everything else. We must start teaching them in the educational system to appreciate the other side of the coin - the needs of industry. One good example of free enterprise education is represented in the room tonight. Junior Achievement is an example. Pardon me for picking on you, but it is a good example. Where else is there a better example of how to teach young people today what business or industry needs tomorrow when they get in there than teaching them how to make a profit in a plant? In these small operations they are going to learn. We have about fifty-five or sixty of these "companies" in our community and hold a big banquet every year with a trade fair where they get together in an auditorium and sell their products. My desk, I'll have to admit, is full of ashtrays that have been turned out and knick-knacks and this kind of things that are sold for a dollar. They come running in and say, we can't do this unless you buy a product or it may be a share of stock that I bought for fifty cents. You should be interested in these things. These are the things that I was talking about that we've got to do in order to do the job. You've got to know that in your community. It takes all these things in

order to do it.

As we have talked about tangibles and intangibles, let's now talk about one other factor that is equally important as far as the community is concerned. Everybody wants new industry. There is a glamour and headline in saying that a new industry is coming into the community. There is just as much glamour too, in the development of a community in saying that a local industry is going to expand and employ another 100 people or 120 people or what ever it might be. On the national average today, eighty-five percent of your industrial expansion will come from within. Now as far as total growth, the plants you bring in are only a fraction. Eighty-five percent of growth is going to come from plants that you have, so you had better take care of them. What are you doing for local expansion? I've had more opportunities than most people are entitled to as far as industrial development is concerned. I've had opportunities to go back into plants and talk to top management after they have located in the community and just said to them, "You've been here four or five years now, what's your opinion of the community?" Some of these people are pretty frank because they've been disappointed. The community is so busy looking for new industries that they forget to service the one they've already brought in. Many of these industries are real unhappy with the community.

Do you have a top management committee that meets in your community? Maybe it meets only once every other month. Do you have the kind of committee in which the plant manager or his assistant or maybe the top two people in the plant have an opportunity

to sit down behind closed doors (perhaps without any minutes being kept) and really talk about what's right and what's wrong with the community. They're not going to run your community down. They're the people who are going to take self-analysis and say here's what we need if we're going to stay in business. The things that your Chamber of Commerce, which I know is doing its job, needs to know from these people's minds is where we are going in the future; what do we need in the future in order to satisfy these people? Is there a committee that gets together once a month with personnel directors to talk over their individual problems. Is there a committee that gets together maybe once a month for safety directors and talks over their individual problems? Are you servicing these industries? Does your industrial development committee take such a role upon itself? Let's say that a couple of you get together on such a committee. You are given a card, and on it says, "Go visit the ABC Corporation." Do you visit the ABC Corporation, say once a year? Sit down behind closed doors for maybe fifteen or twenty minutes and ask that owner or plant manager, "What does the community need to do to make you a better profit, to keep you happy, to make sure your plant is going to expand?" Not enough communities do this kind of industrial development activities. The tendency is to get so busy with the glamour of bringing the new firms in (which is more and more difficult today) that the servicing of existing plants is forgotten. As far as I am concerned, and I guess I am what you would call an old fashion Chamber of Commerce manager, I feel that if we don't service industry there is no reason for being in

business. What is the lifeblood of our community? It's the payroll developed by business and industry. It isn't anything else. Maybe your payroll comes from recreational activities. Maybe it has to do with boating and fishing, recreation and tourist cabins and everything else. Maybe it has to do with the gallons of gasoline that are pumped in the community. This is still business and industry. Every community needs the lifeblood of a basic industry that manufactures something. Are you taking care of them? Stop and think a minute. I can tell by the look that is on some of your faces that you really do want these things done. Have we been down at the city council? Have we been to City Hall? Have we talked to the mayor and city manager? Are we on their team? Are we all playing in the same ballpark? Do we all know what we want in the community? Do we have a plan?

I guess the word, master plan, is a dirty word these days, but at least we have to have some kind of a plan. Do we know what is the first thing we are going to do tomorrow morning with the city tax money? Do we know when a given project is to be done? A plan allows us to focus on important tasks one after another. Are we going to pass the bond issue that is needed for the educational facilities? If we are not going to do the things that are needed government-wise, there isn't any need of starting. So we have a good mayor, so we have a good city council. Do we have any business people represented in the city council? A good many of us these days have taken active part in politics, or what ever you want to call it, but what do we do after the campaign? Do we go home and say politics isn't a dirty word?

Politics is the ardent plans of government so I'll be a precinct committeeman, I'll be the treasurer of our precinct group; I'll raise some money; I don't want to run for city council; I don't want to take a political job; I don't have the time; yet there are thousand jobs behind the scenes that must be done. Are you willing to go down tonight and stuff a few envelopes? Are you willing to give five dollars extra for some postage that might be needed to get the right guy elected? Are you willing to stand up and declare yourself as a Republican or a Democrat and work for a cause? As a businessman and a person in a community, you should. You need to know where you stand. You need to know what your community's program is. You need to know what the Republican party stands for or the Democrat platform. Put the people in office that can do the best job for your community. I'm not here running as a Republican or Democrat or an Independant but I feel each man should stand up and be accounted for. Why? Because when you do and the chips are down and you need the general public to vote a ten million issue in for educational facilities, or what ever it might be, if they have the faith in you as an individual, or as a group of people working together, they're going to give you that bond issue. If they don't have any leadership they are not going to give you the bond issue. It is similar to attracting industry to your community. I know there will be things to be discussed - questions and answers, and this is what I do in the Chamber of Commerce more than anything else: talk industrial development and do industrial development. Do the things

that are necessary. Community growth isn't something that can be accomplished over night. It takes a well developed plan in order to do it. You can't get enthusiastic tonight, or tomorrow morning, nor can the television station, the newspaper, or any news media get you all built up and say okay, fine, here's what we ought to be doing. Often you work at it for a week and say: "Well, gee, I didn't get any prospects." Then somebody comes along and says, "Let's spend more of our time on retail Dollar Days or something else." This is all fine and dandy. We need the retail promotion. You better do the best you can as promotion is needed for your community. Let's just quickly go to your community and point out some things that I have had happen to me in the past, as you mentally look at your community as if we were driving up and down the streets.

I know a community that lost a major industry for no other reason other than the fact that in the retail trading area (the downtown business district) the curbs weren't repaired and were dirty. There was actually grass growing in the street where no businessman had walked out and trimmed it out. Sure it might have been only a couple of clumps, but have you looked at these things yourself? Look at it as people coming into the community will look at it. I know an industry that looked at a community and was quite impressed with the community until it looked at the road system. They hadn't taken enough pride in the community to repair the chuck-holes. They needed a new bridge over a river in the down town area. They had talked about this bridge for some thirty years, but had never taken the initiative to get the

job done. Now this is a poor way to impress people coming into your community. They don't understand that you have needed the bridge for thirty years and just really haven't had the money. They go to some other community and see that they have a brand new bridge and seem to be doing the job. They judge from their visual concept. This is the thing that you have to look and see. These things are not merely window dressing; they are the intangibles we were talking about.

I know that industry has not located in a community because they got the wrong reaction from the retail clerks. I know an industry that employs a team (and I presume that they all want to be a part of this team) that has visited practically "every high class tavern" in the community during an evening hour and did nothing more than sit on a stool in the tavern and strike up a conversation with whoever was sitting around. Now this sounds like Utopia to get paid for this kind of a job but I guess these things happen with visitation crews. They merely ask questions of the fellow or lady, whoever may be in the tavern that evening. "What's going on in the community? What's new? Where could I go this evening to have a good time?" Or, "What do you think of the community?" "What's your problem today?" Try that sometime. Talk to a total stranger in a tavern some day and ask him this about his community. You've got to sell the people on their community to be certain that such a visitation team would write a favorable report.

Another example of selling the community will help illustrate my point. I know a community that published a series of articles in a

local newspaper about their community so that the general public would know what was going on. Now, first of all, I am a firm believer in the news media. They do an excellent job. I offer no criticism whatsoever. Put yourself in their position. If all these articles appear on the front page telling how nice your community was and what good people everybody was, you wouldn't really stop and buy that newspaper. The front page has to be covered with the things that create the news to be the kind of newspaper that you want to read and you want to buy. Okay, fine, so we get the race riots, we get the automobile accidents, we get the wars, and we get the international news, and the things that are in the key spot. This is what sells a newspaper. A newspaper, while it has a public service to perform, must also stay in business. But someplace in that newspaper can be a series of articles that the public needs to learn to read about what's in your community and what's needed to do the job. When I went to Canton some six years ago, there was not any spirit of cooperation as far as I was concerned. Too many organizations going this way; too many people doing their own work - nobody really working together. I think I probably went in there with my eyes open. I talked to forty business people before I accepted the job. I dropped into business places and did the same thing that I am telling you to do with your community. How do you like this community? What do you like about it? What's wrong with it and so on? I think I knew what I was walking into. After I was there for about a year, we had an excellent opportunity, in my opinion, to sell that community to the people. We published a

special supplement in the newspaper - sixteen pages. On a Sunday morning we delivered that supplement in color to every home in that community. In this issue we told them what I am calling "The Canton Story." It dealt with only the things that happened in the community in the last six years. It was not a history - they knew more about Canton than I did. We told them what had happened in that community in the last six years. We gave them some colored pictures; we put about a half a dozen pictures of the businesses in the supplement. I am not kidding you in the least, from Saturday night to Monday morning, the attitude of the community changed. For the first time in their lives most people really understood, I think, what the business leadership in that community was trying to do to bring new industry and new business into that community.

For some twelve years, the city government had been urging a steel industry in our community to get rid of the pink smoke that comes from steel plants - it gets all over the laundry - makes the women unhappy, and so on. We had it; there was no question about it. We are predominantly a steel community. We have fifty-five thousand employed in our community. We have the highest ratio of population in industrial employment of any city in the state of Ohio. Republic Steel's plant makes more alloyed steel here than any place else in the world. They had their problems. The city council said to them, "Either clean the pollution up by a certain time or shut down the plant." Now, can you really imagine it? Fifty-five thousand employed of which twenty-seven thousand were employed in steel. Yet the city council said,

in effect, to close the plant but keep the employees. We went to the city council. We explained the facts of life to them. We said, "Look, are you aware that some of these facilities are just breaking down because they are old. They ought to be updated. Let's go talk to these people about putting some faith in this community by doing things that are needed to rebuild this whole facility." Today, in two plants, because of the change of attitude in the community today, there are two plants where a hundred and sixty-five million dollars worth of new construction is going on. Now these steel mills are designed to get rid of the pink smoke. To accomplish this, they practically tore down all of the old facilities. We have a brand new facility. Had the city council kept on saying: "Let's put the pressure on until they get this job done," the plant would have been built in some other community. This is the kind of cooperation one gets when everybody understands the problem.

If they don't understand the problem, government is going to go one way and business is going to go another until they think they can't speak to each other and sit down with their shirt sleeves rolled up and work problems out. You get a serious problem in the community, and there is no use of trying to bring industry in if you can't solve existing problems.

I was gone four days and got back yesterday morning. I knew I would be leaving again today and not be back before tomorrow. While there, I received a call from City Hall. A new building inspector who has done an excellent job for us has discovered in the ordinances

(passed in 1939) that we had been in a conflict for the past several years with a state ordinance. This measure needs to be changed as we are about to lose our certification as far as local building inspectors are concerned. State inspectors would come into our community and inspect businesses and new facilities for industry. This we don't want. We want our own local people to be employed to do this job. So, instead of putting it on the front page of the newspaper that we have a problem - industry has not lived up to an obscure ordinance as they should have in the last eight or nine years, they called me in and asked us, behind the scenes, to get a group of business people together to rewrite the ordinance so that business can live with it - and do their job. This is the kind of cooperation I have been talking about. I am convinced that some six, seven years ago this could have not have happened with some of the governments we have had. It is not the individual, not any one person, but when two or three people in city government don't understand business and industry they make a problem.

Now, I have taken forty-five minutes or more to acquaint you with some of the things that I think you ought to know about industry and industrial development. I tried not to give you a lecture on just how to attract industry but to tell you the kind of competition you've got today. I merely want to finish with this statement that you can think about. There has to be a salesman in the community. Stop and think of your own business. You have salesmen in your business, selling your product. Now, you need everybody in the community to be

a salesman indirectly and be sold on your community. Some one person must mastermind this. He must be the coordinator behind the scenes and be knowledgeable to answer any question that comes along. I admit I am prejudiced. There's no doubt in my mind that this person should be the Chamber of Commerce manager or the paid staff of the Chamber of Commerce. It does pay to do this job. They ought to be knowledgeable enough to be the "walking textbook" of the community.

Now, that doesn't mean that we don't need you folks as back-up people and volunteers and to go out and talk to business and industry. And many times on making industrial calls two or three people need to go along. Maybe the Chamber manager is only carrying a briefcase and often he doesn't have to open his mouth until somebody says, "What is the tax rate?" "What is this and what is that?" and other questions concerning technical problems. You've got to have a well-financed Chamber in order to do it. Now, a good financed Chamber doesn't necessarily mean you will get the job done. You've got to have somebody going out to call on the prospects. You've got to have somebody to deliver the prospects. I am going to use myself as an example. If the board of directors says your number one job is industrial expansion, in the community or out of the community, you use your own judgement. When somebody calls you at 8:00 in the morning and says "I'd like to talk to you about a site or a piece of ground," if you think that's the most important thing of the day, that's what you do. We're being paid to be executive vice-presidents - to be managers. If somebody calls me and says, "Bob, I'm looking at your

community." I'm going to grab my suitcase and be on an airplane in about twenty minutes if that airplane is ready to leave in twenty minutes and headed for the location of that firm. You've got to have the confidence of the community as well as establishing the fact that this is all confidential in nature.

For the nine months that I was dealing with the largest corporation in the United States that was about to put a plant in my community that would employ some four thousand people. For nine months this corporation said to me, "Bob, if you open your mouth and tell even your president who you are dealing with and we find out about it, we will not locate in your community." And they meant every word of this. One day I got stopped by a man from one of the newspapers and he said, "Bob, I know you have a prospect and I know that it's getting hot. Now, can you really tell us about it confidentially so that behind the scenes we can get ready to publish it." I said, "You've got me in a spot. The industry has asked me for my confidence. I have given it to them. I will bring you up to date as soon as I can. In fact, when I see them again I'll ask them if, behind the scenes, I can bring you up-to-date, because I know all newspapers will respect confidence or off the record statements." The corporation said, "No, we'll let you know when the time comes; and, in fact, we'll give them plenty of time to write up the story." This went on for a couple of more months. Like all people, the press gets a little bit itchy as the pressure increases. They are afraid they are going to get scooped, and I don't blame them in the least. That

shouldn't happen at all.

One day the editor, who is a good personal friend of mine, stopped me and said, "Bob, I'm sorry, I can't hold it any longer. I'm sure it's the Ford Motor Company, and I'm going to run the story." I could only say to him, "You are going to look like the silliest man in the United States, as far as I am concerned, if you run that story." Later, when it was over, he said: "Thank goodness you didn't let me run that story because it turned out to be General Motors."

These are examples that happen in your community that point out that you've got to build up public confidence in order to function effectively. At the same time there are other industrial prospects who may say: "Fine, tell your industrial development committee. Tell them in confidence our name." The policy on our industrial development committee is to get broad representation. We have bankers; we have contractors; we have people who are knowledgeable and can sit in a room with a prospect and assure them that they can produce results that are needed right now. We have an unwritten law on that committee. If we ever hear of anybody who sits around that table violating confidence, they will not be invited back to the next meeting. We see to it that everybody knows that this will happen. We also have an unwritten law not to take advantage of prior knowledge. If we have five banks in the community, all five of those bankers want that new bank account. It's very important to them; but, if any banker on the committee contacts a prospective company's directors and asks for their bank account previous to that time, when the public is

notified of their decision to locate in our community, that banker will not be asked to serve on that committee because he's violated the confidence.

You've got to have this kind of feeling in the community. You've got to have this kind of working relationship with the people at the Chamber of Commerce office and then give them a free hand. Now, it also works the other way around. The Chamber must respect your wishes. We're vulnerable too. If we get to the point that you don't have the confidence in us, we are soon out hunting another job. This is where you have the upper hand and this is the way it should be.

So, as I started out by saying, I feel you've got as good a community as anybody else. There is no Utopia. You can't have everything nor can anyone else. The advantages of one community over another are like the differences among automobiles. No one automobile today is really any better than the other. Each has certain points and certain things that you want to buy. If you were to ask: "What kind of an automobile do you drive?" I reply that I drive a Ford product. Why do I drive a Ford product? Because I've got a Ford Motor plant in my community. When I was in a community in Indiana where there was a General Motors Company, I drove a General Motors automobile. They're both transportation; they both get me there. They both do the same thing. It's the same with types of communities. You've got me beat on certain things in the intangibles. There's no question about that. I've got you beat on others.

But do you realize that if you bring a new plant into this

community with top management, they will want to bring in top men, particularly in research and development these days. What do top management, research, and development want? Two people often cannot talk together any longer in businesses with research and development staff. You'd have to hire two psychiatrists and two scientists because they've got to have the opportunity to talk to each other. A scientist and psychologist working together can't communicate in the same language; they need to talk among themselves. As the psychologist says such mixed groups are going to drive each other a little bit out of their minds. You need two psychologists to go out on a coffee break and talk psychology and two scientists to go out and talk in that technical jargon. So what are you going to do with these people after five o'clock? These people are used to cultural activities. They want to develop their brains, their abilities, their resources, and the things they want to do. So they want symphony orchestras within driving distance (at least if you don't have them). They want the type of research libraries found in universities so that they can use the latest findings in their professions. They want cultural activities. Can you provide them? You say you are a community of less than 50,000 people. That's fine; you've still got enough people to do the basic job to get some of these things that need to be done. It takes money to do it. The money will come back to business people if they support community development.

To sum it all up and to close, let me stress cooperation. Cooperation between types of government, the city and the county

working together, the city and the county and the state working together for the same thing. The ability of government to stick its neck out and make a decision. And be wrong once in a while and admit when they are wrong. Let me close with an example showing how cooperation secured a new industry. I don't know if you have run into situations like this. I had an industry to consider coming into my community, but they had to have a highway built. You cannot ask these companies to make a commitment to start a plant. No, it doesn't work that way. Who's got the upper hand in this thing? The guy with the money who's going to build the plant, not the community. So if you are flexible enough to take him in good faith, you make your commitment on a piece of paper and buy your land and finish your highway at the same time. General Motors put that plant in our community. They had to have an overpass over a railroad track. The track only served their plant, but they would not tie up their employees at that railroad track as they were going back and forth to work. Why? Because if they did they were going to have a union grievance. If their employees were late coming in and the management docked them because they were late and it was because there was a train across that track, they were vulnerable on a labor contract and a grievance on labor negotiation. We had to go to the state highway department and ask them if they were willing to spend over a million dollars to put an overpass over that railroad track in order to get a plant that employees over 4,000 people in the state of Indiana? They said, yes. To get that plant in the state of Indiana was worth the cost of an overpass or access road.

The highway department didn't want that plant built back up in Michigan. They wanted it in Indiana. The county government agreed to provide the necessary county roads to get the employees out of that plant onto a four lane highway when the two shifts change. Keep the people in the plant happy.

Stop and think of yourself in this situation. You drive down the street and hit all red lights at 7:00 in the morning going to work. You're in a traffic jam and you look at your watch and it's getting later and later. You might as well not go to work if you're working on a piece of machinery. Your nerves are all upset; you're mad and so on. You don't help productivity that day.

Companies want happy employees. This is the kind of cooperation I'm talking about. You don't have the upper, industry does. If you are not willing to play their game, don't get in the market. I'm going to play their game and many other professional managers are going to play their game. We're going to give them what they want to the best of our ability. At the same time, realizing we can't afford some of them in the community, we should say so. "I'm sorry, we just can't afford to put you in our community. You've got to go someplace else." Be honest with them and tell them this to start with. If you are going to play their game, then play it down to the wire and give them what they want in order to get the job done. Now, I don't want to disturb anybody at all. I'm merely saying to you, industrial development now-a-days is a science. While it's fun for us, it can also leave you ulcers. I've already had mine and learned

how to worry with them. It leads to problems in the community. Accept the problems and you have industrial development. Don't accept them and you can't have growth.

Too often communities make decisions based upon intuition, hope, ignorance, or expectation of personal gain. It was a part of our program to introduce the leadership of our community to the uses of data gathered by knowledgeable people trained in the social sciences as the basis of the decision-making process.. To this end, Professor Samuel Dardick agreed to have an Urban Planning Class from the School of Architecture of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, investigate the feasibility of purchasing a housing project in Paducah known as Forest Hills. Unfortunately, the decision to purchase the tract had been made before the report was presented; therefore, the local administration felt obligated to defend their decision - especially since the report recommended that the proposal be rejected.

Participants in the panel presenting the report were:

Prof. Samuel I. Dardick
 Joshua A. Burns
 Robert M. Super
 Robert White
 Jerome Pratter.

The report shows sound methodology and careful assessment. It was unfortunate that the audience found it difficult to separate disinterested investigation from partisan politics. A community can gain much from the proper use of professional expertise. With the advent of computers and linear programming, modern community leaders should be aware of the potential of recent technology and social sciences as tools of problem solving.

The report of this class project was presented at Paducah Junior College on February 29, 1968.

THE FOREST HILLS STUDY

Prepared by Professor Samuel I. Dardick
for the
PURCHASE AREA ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL, INC.
and the
FOREST HILLS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

I. HISTORY OF THE PROJECT

The Architecture 651 and 707 class in Urban Planning at the Washington University School of Architecture was asked last September (1967) to study the Forest Hills subdivision in Paducah, Kentucky. The class consisted of about 45 graduate students in social work, law, political science, engineering, education, and architecture and urban design. Assistant Professor Samuel I. Dardick, a practicing city planner, was the instructor and Albert Lerch his graduate assistant. They and the students agreed to undertake the study, and the project was approved by the Dean of the School of Architecture.

The project was originally suggested by the Rev. Cass Robinson, pastor of the Forest Hills Presbyterian Church, upon the recommendations of Mr. Jerome Berger, a consultant to the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Mr. Flem R. Messer, Executive Director of the Purchase Area Economic Opportunity Council, Inc. - the Western Kentucky Community Action Program agency. The objective of the study was to determine the social, economic and physical conditions of Forest Hills with an eye toward its possible use to relieve a serious shortage of sound housing for low-income residents of the Paducah area. Another purpose was to evaluate the feasibility of two proposed solutions for the Forest Hills problem, especially the one proposed by Rev. Robinson.

(A) The Problem and Proposals

Forest Hills is a subdivision of 500 dwelling units - 350 single-family houses and 150 row-house apartments - on a 100-acre tract on the edge of the City of Paducah, the County Seat of McCracken County, Kentucky. Soon after construction began in 1953 during the boom brought about by the Carbide plant, the development failed as a commercial venture and the developer went bankrupt. The title to the development reverted to the Federal Housing Administration which now rents the units through a private management corporation.

Home lots could not be sold individually because of an easement problem created by poor site planning. Because of insufficient sound-proofing in the apartment buildings, only every other unit can be rented. About 200 families presently live in the subdivision. The vacant units - about half of the total number - are presently in a blighted and unattractive condition.

At the time this study began, the Paducah City Government was preparing to submit a \$1,270,000 bond issue proposal to purchase and rehabilitate Forest Hills. The bond issue was subsequently approved by city voters in the municipal election of November 7, 1967. This proposal, known as the Paxton Plan after the City Commissioner who drafted it, calls for the city to raze 125 of the units and to rehabilitate the remainder and all of the apartment units. These rehabilitated units are to be rented with monthly base rents at approximately the present level of \$65.00. The revenue from the project is to be applied toward retirement of the bonded indebtedness.

Eventually, the housing development is to be phased out and the site used for some public facility.

Some local groups felt, and still feel, however, that the Paxton proposal was wasteful of an asset that could be used to provide much needed housing for families in the city. They favored the proposal suggested by the Rev. Cass Robinson. This "Robinson Proposal" calls for formation of a non-profit cooperative housing corporation, under church sponsorship, to acquire and improve the subdivision with federal aid funds. The housing would be maintained by the cooperative for low-income residents.

(B) Goals and Criteria

The original objectives of our study were subsequently broadened to include additional factors in the Forest Hills situation and relevant aspects of the local community. Also considered were other possible alternatives for solution of the problem and community needs. This expansion of the project was made partly to increase the comprehensiveness of the study and partly to meet the teaching needs of a class exercise.

Thus, the goals of the project were:

- 1) To determine, generally, the most feasible plan that would
 - a) best resolve the Forest Hills problem;
 - b) best meet the needs of the Paducah area community as a whole.
- 2) To evaluate, specifically, the Paxton and Robinson

proposals and other alternatives in terms of:

- a) social needs
- b) political possibilities
- c) legality
- d) economic workability
- e) architectural design desirability
- f) sound land-use planning.

Detailed criteria for evaluations were left to be worked out in the course of the study project, and are found in the separate reports.

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

The class was divided into seven groups, each assigned to a specific area of study, and the project began in early October. Faculty members, graduate students, and other professionals served as expert consultants for the study groups. The following topics were assigned, one to each team:

Socio-demographic - the social characteristics of the Paducah community and the existing social system among Forest Hills residents, including the socio-cultural needs of both city and subdivision.

Economic - the community's economic base and economic aspects of possible plans for solution of the Forest Hills problem, including financial resources, costs, and the housing market.

Political - the governmental system of Paducah and the political feasibility of possible solutions to the Forest Hills problem.

Land Classification - the existing land use situation in and

near Paducah and the community's land-use needs.

Urban Design Forms - the subdivision's design, physical conditions, and improvements needed.

Traffic and Transportation - circulation and transportation facilities in the Paducah area and in and near the Forest Hills subdivision, along with needs and the probable effects of the alternatives on traffic and transportation.

Legal Problems - the law's requirements for and constraints on each of the alternatives and the legal possibilities for solution and assistance.

In addition, a Coordinating Committee composed of study team captains and others was assigned to oversee the project, insure cooperation among the groups, maintain liaison with the E.O.C. staff in Paducah, develop alternative solutions, integrate the group reports, draft final recommendations, and present the results to the study's sponsors.

Each of the various study groups proceeded more or less independently to develop research strategies, collect and analyze data, formulate detailed criteria, and evaluate alternatives. Periodic group reports were discussed at length at frequent class meetings. Each class member made at least one trip of two to four days' duration to Paducah for field research; most went in small groups. Although no individual student spent more than a few days in field research, the total accumulation of man-hours in first-hand observation was considerable. In addition, much significant information was obtained from sources in

St. Louis. Together, these efforts resulted in a great amount of useful knowledge and valuable experience. Field work was completed in early December, and the remainder of the course devoted to tabulation and analysis of the data.

II. SUMMARY OF COMMITTEE REPORTS

Details of the group studies are contained in the separate team reports. Below is a summary of the major points of each. Conflicting findings and conclusions must be weighed against each other in terms of the alternate proposals, which will be done in the following section.

(a) Socio-demographic

The social study of Paducah disclosed that the overall housing situation is inadequate. Many dwellings are substandard. A great demand was expressed in the survey of community attitudes for homes priced between \$8,000 and \$10,000. But no need was found for additional public housing.

Interviews with a sample of about one-quarter of the Forest Hills residents indicated:

- about 5 percent are Negro;
- 57 percent have incomes between \$5000 and \$8000 per year;
- about one-half have high school diplomas; 25 percent are college graduates;
- 52 percent have lived in Forest Hills less than six months; 70 percent less than a year;
- 45 percent left their former homes because of job changes; 22 percent because they desired more space for their families;
- 5 percent gave the reason for moving to Forest Hills that it was "the only place available"; the same percentages said

they "liked the place," or "the rent was cheap."

- 48 percent of residents said they do not plan to move; 27 percent said they are planning to move;
- the most frequently given reason for wanting to move (7 of 9 interviewees who planned to move) was that "they don't like the neighborhood;" a few mentioned presence of Negroes as a reason for planning to move.

The attitude survey showed an almost total lack of social cohesion among Forest Hills residents, and a definite class cleavage between blue-collar and white-collar types. All residents would prefer a highly uniform group of residents, as opposed to the social mix they now see there. There are no viable social institutions in the subdivision, despite the efforts of the Presbyterian Church and the presence of the Forest Hills Elementary School (the P.T.A., for example, has only five members). The population is very transient and mobility-minded.

In contrast, the Negro communities of Mechanicsburg and Littleville, despite greater housing blight, were found socially viable and stable. Also, the Fernwood Apartments, which have a history similar to Forest Hills' but better construction, is considered a desirable place to live.

The socio-demographic report concludes that Forest Hills rents are too high for the quality of housing now provided. The development is not suitable for use as housing for the elderly. If the homes were sold individually, a worse slum might develop. Forest Hills needs community facilities, such as shops and playgrounds, to promote social interaction. An apartment building might be converted into a community

center.

Its best use would be for middle-income housing, with extensive rehabilitation and continuance of the present rent level. It is necessary to continue using the site for housing for the next twenty years, but the best eventual use would be for a park or other major community facility.

Investigation was suggested of the possibility of leasing arrangements whereby residents would build equity to be received when they left.

(b) Economic

The economic base study found that Paducah is "not an abnormally poverty-stricken area." Present city population is estimated at 41,000 at most. The housing of highest value is located in the area surrounding Forest Hills, which consequently has a potentially high market value. There are many dwellings outside Forest Hills suitable for rehabilitation, which could also be used to satisfy the need for sound low-income housing.

The rental market analysis concludes that the greater the range of rents offered in Forest Hills, the more likely it is that the project would succeed commercially and the more quickly it would achieve high occupancy. This study reveals that there is a present surplus of rental housing in the \$60 and \$79 per month rent range. Lower income demand for units in Paducah comes from these groups:

(a) the elderly

(b) large, low-income families

(c) persons displaced from substandard housing through renewal or clearance. There is some demand from groups with higher incomes than present Forest Hills residents.

A computer analysis was made of the economic feasibility of several possible schemes for rehabilitating and renting Forest Hills dwellings, using both private and federal-aid financing. This study showed that any one of a wide variety of plans, with a range of rehabilitation costs, would produce a rent schedule reasonable for the type of housing provided. Generally, rehabilitation would provide sound, marketable housing at less than the cost of rebuilding Forest Hills. Moreover, increasing the amount spent per unit on rehabilitation would increase the rent base only slightly. Rents as low as \$35 to \$45 base per month, however, are only possible with federal programs, either 221(d)(3) below market interest rate loans, or direct Public Housing Grants. Another possibility, which offers a potential income mix in the area, is a large scale rent supplement or rent subsidy program to boost the rents which can be paid by low income families.

(C) Political

This study found that the Paducah political system is marked by polarization of influence, or the conflict between two antagonistic power groups. One, which won control of the city government in the recent election, is supported by and relates to the community's lower-middle and upper-lower socio-economic classes, the blue-collar groups. The other is supported by and relates to the upper and upper-middle classes, the white-collar groups. The lower class Negroes,

a dispossessed and alienated group, support the first group of traditional politicians when they do vote, but have virtually no influence in city policy-making.

The two influence centers are opposites in style of politics and interests, but there is a significant overlap in political attitudes. The first group largely sees local government's function as that of a caretaker that should do little more than absolutely necessary and leave much to private initiative, but many members view city hall as the prime promoter of community growth and process. Most members of the other group hold the same progressive attitude, but many see the purpose of local government to maintain the status quo and provide amenities. The overlap is significant because what little the city government does appears based on the common attitude. In addition, the failure of the two equally powerful groups to cooperate produces instability in government operations.

Analysis of precinct returns in last November's elections indicates that the Forest Hills bond issue was strongly supported by the white-collar voters and only weakly favored by others. Mayor Robert Cherry and his slate won election largely on a protest vote against the other group's reform candidates and their recent administration. However, a serious split among the winners of the City Commission can be expected.

(D) Legal Problems

Several legal difficulties were turned up concerning the planned sale of Forest Hills to the City of Paducah and the city's

authority to operate such a housing project except under public housing laws. However, some of these problems may be resolved, and the basis in law of the Paxton proposal should be researched further.

The subdivision is not subject to city taxes, it was found, if publically owned, but would be if owned by a private non-profit corporation. If it were public housing, payments in lieu of taxes would have to be made to the city.

The legal report also outlines the possible forms a Forest Hills rehabilitation project might take, such as an urban renewal redevelopment corporation and a condominium, along with the requirements for federal-aid programs, including the 221(d)(3) non-profit sponsor and rent supplement programs, 221(h) home ownership scheme, and "turnkey" public housing program. Many such programs and combinations of them were found legally possible.

(E) Urban Design Forms

This survey found that 140 of the Forest Hills homes were in good condition, 130 need minor repair, and 80 need major rehabilitation. The extremely poor soundproofing in the apartment buildings would probably necessitate placing new partitions between units. Storage space is lacking in the houses, which have no basements, but could be provided in car ports if they were added.

The subdivision is also badly landscaped and has poor top soil. Utility poles, many of them in front yards, are a serious design problem. Extensive landscaping work, costing about \$500 a lot or a total of \$250,000, is recommended to increase livability and

marketability.

This committee found the Paxton Plan did not adequately consider steps to be taken to reverse the process of the deterioration of the project. Simple unit rehabilitation is not sufficient. Nor does this plan consider the design implications of the spot removal of units. Unattractive gaps are created which become "sinks" for debris, garbage, scrap, etc. The cost estimates on which the plan was based appear to be fairly realistic.

The Forest Hills site was deemed suitable for a park, which would cost \$2,000,000 or educational use, as well as for housing rehabilitation within the usable life of the construction.

(F) Land Classification

The land-use study found that 30 to 40 percent of the land within city limits is vacant. A total of 2310 additional acres, including 144 acres in the city, should be devoted to residential use to meet the housing needs of the expected county population of 72,000 persons. Unless more substandard housing is upgraded, even more land will have to be used for residential development. The city and county planning commissions' plans were judged sadly deficient in that they ignore the community's serious housing needs.

In the area within a one-mile radius of Forest Hills there are many high-value homes and few low-cost or multiple-family dwellings. There is some commercial and industrial development nearby, and much undeveloped land. Two future developments near Forest Hills are expected to have great effects on land use in the area. One is the construction

in three or four years of Interstate Highway 24 with an interchange at Lone Oak Road, which will stimulate commercial development along Lone Oak. The other is the planned construction of a hospital on land adjoining the subdivision.

The report recommends against use of Forest Hills land for industrial development, but finds reasonable a possible use for expansion of the nearby Paducah Junior College campus. Park use is rejected because the surrounding area is more than adequately served by existing recreational facilities, or will be under current plans to improve recreational facilities.

Continued residential use was found most feasible in terms of the community's immediate housing needs, but the best eventual or long-range use was determined to be for some development related to the planned hospital.

A minority report of this committee questions the actual effect which redevelopment of the Forest Hills project will have upon adjacent areas. The existing condition is due to over ten years of poor management by the Federal Housing Authority. The site of the project is quite nice and the siting of the units is handled with some sensitivity. If properly landscaped and managed, the project, even with low-income residents, could be attractive and respectable. The site is well insulated from surrounding properties. On two sides this is effected by nature in the form of a wooded unbuildable area. On the other side there is Lone Oak Road, from which the project is sensibly set back, and properties owned by the television station and the parochial school.

This report recognizes that there is such a thing as awareness of a project, but the physical appearance of a rehabilitated Forest Hills need not impinge unfavorably upon any of the adjacent properties.

(G) Traffic and Transportation

This study found the Forest Hills streets, although not dedicated for public use and maintenance, to be in satisfactory condition, with occasional minor exceptions. The curbs and sidewalks are in similar condition, but the number of sidewalks is deficient.

The Paducah Transit Corporation was said to be in poor financial condition. Bus service for Forest Hills residents is now nonexistent. Transit officers told the study group that only six passengers per trip were needed to justify running the buses stopping at the Hannon Plaza shopping center out another mile to Forest Hills.

The opening of Interstate 24 will increase traffic on Lone Oak Road, but increased occupancy of Forest Hills would not adversely affect traffic patterns and loads on nearby streets. Within the subdivision, more residents would mean several improvements must be made. Among them would be adding sidewalks to serve both sides of the streets, better street lighting, pedestrian crossing controls on Highland Boulevard, and sidewalks along Lone Oak between Forest Hills and the Hannon Plaza shopping center. Improved bus service would be needed for low-income residents in Forest Hills.

III. THE PROPOSALS AND EVALUATIONS

A. MISCELLANEOUS USES PROPOSAL

- A. 1 Park
- A. 2 Educational Plaza
- A. 3 Hospital
- A. 4 Industrial Park

It is our opinion that none of these uses makes short-term sense: all conflict with proposed city or city-county programs, and all involve long-term commitments to a particular land use. Such commitments would be unwise without detailed study of a scope beyond the limits of this particular project. Furthermore, none of these proposals attempts to solve the immediate problems of the existing housing facilities in Forest Hills. We feel that these proposals should be investigated for possible implementation in about twenty years time, in the event that housing uses for Forest Hills do not work out.

B. SUBURBANIZATION PROPOSAL

B. 1 Suburbanization could be handled either through private financing (for sale, rent, or a mix), or through public financing (for rental only). In either case, it would involve:

- Clearance and re-subdivision
- Ignoring existing services and sub-dividing the site into larger building sites for higher income groups
- Housing units to cost about \$15,000 each (which would compare to units costing about \$20,000).
- Market-rate interest financing, which would produce monthly cost-to-tenant figures of:

Mortgage (principal and interest payments), plus insurance and taxes	\$160.00
OR	
Coop plan (includes maintenance)	\$180.00
OR	
Rental	\$200.00

PRO:

This proposal would minimize differences of socio-economic level between Forest Hills and the surrounding residential areas - a situation which would greatly simplify the political aspects of implementation.

The site itself is well suited to such a development, not only in terms of the surrounding area, but in terms of topography, view, etc.

CON:

Studies made by the Land Classification Committee and the Economic Committee indicate that there is little demand for housing in this price range in the Paducah area, above that which is currently being provided by builders in the open market.

Clearance of the land, re-subdivision, the rebuilding involves a long-term commitment to this particular type of housing use - a use which, due to its questionable validity, should not be set up without an escape mechanism.

The Legal Committee points out that under the conditions of the public bond issue vote for the purchase of Forest Hills on November 7, 1967, the Suburbanization Proposal would not be possible without either

- a) a court fight to establish illegality of the bond issue, or
- b) the creation of some form of urban renewal corporation which would qualify as a "public use" and could therefore operate within the conditions of the bond issue.

C. PUBLIC HOUSING PROPOSALS

A project which would be financed and amortized by the federal government. It would involve rehabilitating to minimum standards 339 detached units and 150 apartment units, the demolition of 11 detached units and 0 apartment units. The Economic Committee indicates that rents would be possible in the range currently in effect in the city's Public Housing projects - about \$30 to \$40 per month.

C. 1 Relocation Housing

Project would provide low-income relocation housing for families displaced in Paducah's urban renewal programs.

C. 2 Permanent, additional Public Housing for Paducah

PROS of C. 1 and C. 2

This proposal makes possible the provision of low-rent housing for needy families in the Paducah area who might otherwise be living in sub-standard units.

CONS of C. 1 and C. 2

Our data indicate that there is no need for additional public housing in Paducah, with the exception of units which would be suitable for large families (four to five bedrooms) and the aged. Neither of these needs could be accommodated within the existing framework of Forest Hills.

The Public Housing Proposals also present certain legal difficulties. Due to constraints set up under the November 7, 1967 bond issue for the purchase of Forest Hills, one of two courses of action would have to be followed:

- 1) initiation of a legal battle to contest the legality of the bond election, or
- 2) the establishment of an urban renewal corporation which would qualify as a "public use" and could therefore operate within the constraints of the bond issue.

D. THE PAXTON PLAN

D. 1 Unmodified Paxton Plan

- Use the present project as the basis for rental units.
- Rehabilitate 225 detached units and 150 apartment units. Demolish 125 detached units and 0 apartment units.
- Costs of demolition and rehabilitation to be paid by \$270,000 from the bond issue. Bond principal retirement and bond interest payment - as well as maintenance - to be paid by rental income.
- Rent schedule to be similar to that now in effect: \$65 per month.
- All units to be phased out in 15 to 20 years. All retained units will be maintained until such time as they are phased out.
- The anticipated annual income of the project in gross rental receipts will be:

@ present occupancy level	\$221,000
with additional units	<u>63,000</u>
TOTAL	\$284,000

D. 2 As in D. 1, but with revised estimate of the numbers of units requiring rehabilitation and demolition. According to our examination of the present condition of Forest Hills:

- Rehabilitate 339 detached units and 150 apartment units;
- Demolish 11 detached units and 0 apartment units.

(See reports of Economic Committee and Urban Design

Committee.)

D. 3 As in D. 2, but with an increased amount spent on the upgrading of each unit:

a) Minimum + landscaping

b) Minimum + landscaping + car ports + air conditioning.

(See report of Urban Design Committee.)

PROS of D. 1

The report of the Socio-demographic Committee indicates that it is within this price range (\$7,000 to \$10,000) that Paducah is most likely to have a need for housing units.

Passage of the November 7, 1967 bond issue amounted to acceptance of this proposal by Paducah's voters; it is politically "in".

As all units would be phased out in twentieth years, the possibility of changing the use of the land at that time is retained.

CONS of D. 1

At the market-rate interest required by the bond issue (6%), rents would have to be in the \$70 to \$80 range. (See report of the Economic Committee.)

The proposal to demolish 125 detached units poses serious problems of urban form. Extensive demolition would leave large, frequent, and difficult-to-maintain gaps between units. Some units would be isolated, with vacant lots on either side.

Quite apart from problems of urban form, extensive demolition would be wasteful of many structurally sound units, and therefore

uneconomical. The work of the Economic Committee demonstrates that it would actually be less expensive, over a period of 15 to 20 years, to rehabilitate many of the less desirable units; increased rental income would more than compensate for the additional expenditure on rehabilitation.

We are dubious about the possibility of raising the apartment units to a habitable state within the financial limitations of this proposal. There is a serious soundproofing problem between adjacent units, correction of which would require a greater expenditure than has been allowed for.

The Political Committee feels that, in spite of the successful passage of the bond issue, the creation of a lower-income residential area in this part of Paducah could become a political issue.

PROS of D. 2

Since better use is made of the existing, structurally sound, units, break-even rents would be reduced by about \$10 per unit, to the \$60 to \$70 per month range.

The problems of urban form are alleviated, as fewer demolitions result in fewer gaps in the fabric of the development, and fewer isolated units. Maintenance is simplified.

The local economy would benefit through the injection of the additional funds spent on rehabilitation.

CONS of D. 2

An additional \$130,000 would be necessary to cover the heavier initial rehabilitation costs. (But this could probably be obtained from

operating profits in the first two or three years, if the task of rehabilitation were spread over the same period.)

PROS of D. 3

Increased upgrading would bring Forest Hills more into line with the surrounding residential areas, both in terms of physical appearance and in terms of income scale. (Under alternative (a), and estimating an average expenditure of \$1,500 per unit for upgrading and rehabilitation, rent would be \$70 to \$80 per month; under alternative (b), estimating \$2,000 per unit for upgrading and rehabilitation, rent would be \$80 to \$90 per month.) This could be a political advantage.

The local economy would benefit considerably from the injection of an additional \$1,080,000 for upgrading.

CONS of D. 3

The additional \$1,080,000 which would be required to carry out this proposal (as compared to the cost of D. 1) is far too large a sum to be absorbed by spreading the rehabilitation task over a period of a few years. Raising the additional money could be a real political problem, as the voters have just approved a \$1,270,000 bond issue on the impression that it would "cure" the Forest Hills problem.

With increased spending on rehabilitation, one approaches the point of making a long-term commitment to this land use.

The more highly rehabilitated, higher rent units would begin to compete with the existing new-housing market, a market which seems to be lagging as is.

NOTE: The Coordinating Committee would like to point out that the

Paxton Plan in its original form (D. 1) is not really a housing scheme; it is a holding action, designed to amortize the cost of Forest Hills as quickly and cheaply as possible, so that the land can be made available for alternative uses in about twenty years. We consider this to be neither a pro nor a con (it depends on one's goals), and make the point only for purposes of clarification.

E. THE ROBINSON PROPOSAL

E. 1 - As sponsor, the Forest Hills Presbyterian Church will acquire the property of Forest Hills with an FHA 221(d)(3) 3% interest loan. The same loan will cover rehabilitation costs of 339 detached units and 150 apartment units; demolition of 11 detached units and 0 apartment units.

- Form the Forest Hills Cooperative Housing Corporation.
- The Robinson proposal suggests turning over the general operation of the project to the FHCHC on achieving 97% occupancy; we would modify this figure to 93%, in order to conform to 221(d)(3) requirements.
- Retain a three year contract, by mutual agreement with the FHA and the FHCHC, for general management, advice, and consultant service. The property would be managed under cooperative provisions of 221(d)(3). Tenants become members of the cooperative by making a down payment and agreeing to pay the cooperative a carrying charge equal to their share of the sum required by the cooperative to meet its operating costs: principal and interest payments to the FHA, plus management costs. Each member has a voice in management policies. Certain maintenance functions are carried out by the tenants, others by the cooperative, according to terms spelled out in an Occupancy Agreement.
- Develop in cooperation with local city agencies, county agencies, and the Purchase Area Economic Opportunity Council, Inc., a multi-service neighborhood community center. This center will be constructed under a Neighborhood Facilities Grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and will be largely staffed by an Office of Economic Opportunity Neighborhood

Center Grant.

- E. 2 - As E. 1, but under 221(d)(3) rental, rather than cooperative, provisions.
- E. 3 - As in E. 1 and/or E. 2, but with community facilities incorporated into the apartment units.
- E. 4 - As above, but with additional upgrading of the units:
 - a) Minimum + landscaping (est. \$1,500/unit).
 - b) Minimum + landscaping + car ports and air conditioning (est. \$2,000/unit).
- E. 5 - Under Urban renewal, 221(h), and 312 self-help loans, set up as above, but for home ownership.
- E. 6 - Set up as a cooperative under section 213, FHA loan at $5\frac{1}{4}\%$.

PROS of E. 1

Rent would be a low \$35 to \$45 per month, the same rate as Public Housing.

Management has some control over who is accepted for membership in the cooperative.

No local money would be necessary - financing would be achieved through FHA loans - but considerable money would be spent in the local economy.

This is the only specific and detailed proposal which has been forward for the use of Forest Hills.

If successful, the cooperative system contributes to the stability of a neighborhood and the pride of its residents.

CONS of E. 1

The creation of a low-income residential area in this part of Paducah could become a political issue.

If unsuccessful, maintenance could become a problem; tenants must bear some responsibility in this area. (By contrast, Public Housing, which costs tenants the same amount, assures a minimum level of maintenance.)

There is a strong possibility that a court fight would be required to establish the illegality of the bond issue before the sponsor could acquire the land.

The Socio-demographic Committee has uncovered some feeling in the Forest Hills community that the Presbyterian Church does not have a sufficiently broad base in that community to justify its operating as agent.

PROS of E. 2

This modification would lessen the possibility of maintenance problems developing.

CONS of E. 2

Rents would have to be in the \$55 to \$65 per month range, in order to cover the additional maintenance costs of management.

Residents might lose some feeling of "involvement" with their property.

PROS of E. 3

This modification, suggested by the Urban Design Committee, would not only provide a site for the proposed community facilities, but makes good use of some of the difficult-to-rehabilitate apartment units.

CONS of E. 3

(No additional cons.)

PROS of E. 4

(See PROS of D. 3.)

NOTE: Monthly tenant costs for this proposal:

alternate a) rental \$60-\$70/mo.
coop. \$40-\$50/mo.

alternate b) rental \$67-\$77/mo.
coop. \$47-\$57/mo.

CONS of E. 4

(See CONS of D. 3.)

PROS of E. 5

The ownership situation has implications of pride in property, stability, etc.

This proposal might provide a means of relocating low-income home owners without forcing them to give up the advantages of "home ownership."

CONS of E. 5

Since the tenants would own their own land and homes, this proposal involves a long-term commitment to this particular land use.

PROS of E..6

Might provide an alternate means of financing the basic Robinson proposal in the event that low-interest scheme should prove impossible to carry out.

CONS of E. 6

Higher interest costs on this type of FHA loan would result in increased carrying charges for the tenants.

IV. SUGGESTIONS AS TO COURSES OF ACTION

The conditions of the study make the recommendation of a specific and detailed course of action by the study group impractical. Several possible courses of action, however, recommend themselves to us and we feel that the groups seeking the best solution to the Forest Hills problem pursue them further. The passage of a bond issue proposal based upon the Paxton Plan will serve as a constraint for carrying out any alternative proposal.

The success of any proposal for the use of Forest Hills as housing will depend in large part upon the commitment and energy of the sponsoring and managing organizations. Inertia in the first case has resulted in the unpredicted passage of the bond issue. Energy now can result in a good and workable project, making use of the valuable asset of housing now present in the Forest Hills area without crippling the possibilities for future land use change.

The suggested courses of action are:

(1) Paxton and Robinson Proposals Combined I.

- The city, or its agents, the Paducah McCracken County Development Corporation, contract with the Forest Hills Cooperative Housing Corporation, a creature of the Forest Hills Presbyterian Church, for development of a Cooperative housing project in the Forest Hills subdivision.
- A workable plan of renewal and redevelopment be implemented for the city's substandard neighborhoods. Rent

supplement or rent subsidy funds be obtained for displaced families to enable them to move into Forest Hills.

- The program of the FHCHC for human rehabilitation be undertaken. As incomes rise for the rehabilitated families the rent subsidies would be correspondingly reduced.
- Initial rehabilitation is performed on 339 detached and 150 apartment units. Only 11 detached units are razed. Community facilities, offices, etc. may be placed into the apartment units.
- Base rents without subsidy would be about \$60 to \$70 per month, or about the same as present.

PRO:

- (a) A dynamic project for solving the Forest Hills problem is implemented under the existing bond issue and Paxton Plan.
- (b) Families already living in Forest Hills are not necessarily displaced, nor is their rent changed; they do, however, gain from the general area rehabilitation.
- (c) The city retains final control over the area. It may either terminate the project at the end of management contract, or continue the project if it proves successful.
- (d) New money is brought into the community through the rent subsidies, the neighborhood facility grants.

(f) An income mix in the project is achieved, and as low incomes rise the families are not forced to move out of the project.

(g) Most of the goals of the Robinson Proposal can be achieved.

CON:

(a) Application for rent subsidies may require detailed plans for rehabilitation of substandard neighborhoods by the city.

(b) Other requirements for rent subsidy may require effort to meet.

(2) Paxton and Robinson Proposals Combined II.

- The project is purchased by the Forest Hills church as sponsor of a cooperative housing project from the city or its agent. This purchase is achieved by:

(a) Purchase under 221(d)(3) below market interest rate loan and 18 year mortgage based upon 25 year economic life of the project. Twenty five years is the term of the bond issue. This actually amounts to refinancing the bond issue under the provisions of 221(d)(3); or

(b) More desirably, the sponsor group rents the project from the city under a program which is equivalent to no more than 3 percent interest. This may be possible under 221(d)(3).

- Implement items (a) to (e) of the regular Robinson Proposal.

- Rent level is from \$35 to \$45 per month base.

PRO:

- (a) Robinson Proposal is implemented.
- (b) Responsibility for repayment of bond is removed from the city.
- (c) Other PROS of Robinson Proposal.

CON:

- (a) In the event of failure of Robinson Proposal, project reverts once again to FHA control.
 - (b) Money from federal programs may be difficult to obtain because of (a).
 - (c) Other CONS as per Robinson Proposal.
- (3) Original Robinson Proposal.
- Description in Section Three of this report.
 - PROS and CONS as per Section Three of this report.

IN CONCLUSION

The summary statements contained in this report are intentionally inconclusive due to the limited time available for thorough study at the end of the semester. Robert C. White, a student in the Master of Architecture and Urban Design program, is continuing to study and correlate the material which was gathered, as a part of his graduate studies. The material which he produces will be available to the people of Paducah through the Architecture and Urban Design Department of Washington University.

The students and faculty of the Urban Planning class wish to thank the Purchase Area Economic Opportunity Council and the Forest Hills

Presbyterian Church for suggesting this study to us. We also thank the residents and the administration of Paducah for their fine cooperation and help. Without many doors being opened and the willingness of all persons interviewed the study would have been unsuccessful.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE - ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
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A continuing problem of every community involves the conflict between mundane and esoteric land use. Our growing sense of alienation and isolation is a product of the cage-like atmosphere of the modern city. We must seek some means to re-create a sense of purpose in city existence. One solution that came from a similar situation arising in the American cities early in 1900 was the creation of artificial islands of woodlands within our stone and concrete shells. Parks, beautification, recreation - all need to be re-examined to see if they have not fallen behind the rapid rate of growth of urban sprawl.

Mr. Robert M. Montgomery, former Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Natural Resources for the state of Kentucky, investigated the status of Civic Beautification on March 28, 1968. His remarks are in the concluding paper.

PADUCAH'S HOUSEKEEPING JOB

By Robert Montgomery

Any report on what Paducah has done or is trying to do should have a preface.

That preface should be that the city has not yet found all the answers and also probably hasn't used all the answers that it knows. If both of the preceding statements could be answered affirmatively then you would be enjoying a clean and beautiful city.

Thus, I come here tonight not as an expert who can write a textbook on what to do, to do away with dirt and litter but rather as someone to advise with you on what should go into this textbook. On this basis, I am grateful for having had the opportunity of working with Keep America Beautiful. At this moment let me also mention the work that your state government has done on clean-up and beautification. This program may seem far-removed from a clean and beautiful Paducah but its efforts have and will continue to affect your cities housekeeping job.

In 1960, Governor Bert Combs initiated a state-wide beautification program. I was appointed its first director. The position is now held by Mrs. Connie Quinn of the Kentucky Department of Natural Resources. Governor Combs was convinced that there were three great values within the grasp of such a campaign. These values were:

- (1) Add to the states economic development,
- (2) Enjoy a savings in maintenance costs for highways and parks, and
- (3) The development of an additional source of pride for our citizens.

One of the initial objectives of the program and one that strongly exists today is that to participate does not require great expenditures of money. As I heard Governor Combs say on many occasions, "in Kentucky we have too many people too poor to paint and too proud to whitewash." The state program, "Make Kentucky A Cleaner, Greener Land" is directed by Mrs. Quinn and a citizens committee of interested Kentuckians. The citizens committee assists in the development and progress of projects. The committee is able to help in securing citizens and private industrial promotion and the funding of campaigns. Just one example was a Sunday afternoon TV program over a Lexington station. One Sunday the program moderator asked me to fill in for her. After carefully scheduling the thirty minute program on a yellow sheet of paper and pasting it on the table in front of me we proceeded to begin telecasting. After all the subjects I had scheduled had been covered I glanced at the clock in the studio. Unfortunately, I had used only fifteen minutes. Not even approaching the coolness of a professional, needless-to-say, I was filled with considerable apprehension.

I would like to review with you some of the things that have been done by a citizens committee in New York City. I haven't selected New York City because of its size or importance to our nation but because of the outstanding program that I think it has developed and carried out.

Their program began in 1955 under Mayor Wagner. The Mayor asked a group of business leaders to establish an educational

organization in the field of city cleanliness.

The question immediately comes to mind, why should such an organization be needed in such a large and progressive city. New York City has a very large and very efficient sanitation department with an annual budget of 100 million dollars and employment of 13,500 persons.

It was agreed that there was one important element lacking, public cooperation. People were discarding dirt and litter faster than even this great department could handle. It was agreed that the key to solving the problem was education and that a private agency was the answer to this educational need.

The first major job undertaken by the Citizens Committee was a survey to obtain specific information. About 10,000 blocks - one sixth of the cities total - were covered. Analyses were made of the condition of sidewalks and streets, the types of dirt and litter most in evidence, the adequacy of litter baskets and the condition of refuse containers. The findings of this survey were not only used as the basis for the program that was developed, but as benchmarks from which future progress could be measured.

The housekeeping program took shape in three forms.

The first involved mass media - newspapers, magazines, radio, television, bus and subway cards, outdoor posters of all kinds, etc. The premise was that these media could perform five distinct functions:

- (1) Create a public awareness of the program.
- (2) Remind residents of their individual responsibility in making and keeping the city clean.

- (3) Inform commuters, transients and visitors that such a program was in progress and their cooperation was desired.
- (4) Provide an umbrella for neighborhood action, and
- (5) Help to establish a favorable climate for strong enforcement of sanitary laws.

New York City has received the services of high caliber advertising agencies. They have received more than six million dollars in advertising space and time. They have also received continuous news, feature and picture coverage by newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

The mass media has made a most substantial impact.

For the second phase the committee appointed a chairman in each borough. In a large number of the boroughs the reliance is on local, already existing organizations - chambers of commerce, boards of trade, improvement associations, etc. Large numbers of these cooperate closely with the Committee in conducting activities in their own neighborhoods.

One of their problems is that there are acutely overcrowded areas. They have developed or used a precinct program or single-block approach in these densely populated areas. It is believed that the ultimate answer lies in getting people to take and maintain action on their own blocks.

The third phase of their program is work in and through the schools. They have had essay contests, poster contests, skits, plays parades, clean-up squads and all the rest. Study material has been

provided and bulletin board posters have been developed and distributed.

Their belief is that the school and the community should work together at the block level.

The New York program has placed heavy emphasis on materials. They have distributed the following:

- (1) 1,500,000 copies of a digest of the New York City Sanitary Code.
- (2) 575,000 resident rule cards to remind citizens of their specific responsibilities.
- (3) 123,000 cards for merchants.
- (4) 100,000 leaflets entitles "Your Sidewalk is Showing."
- (5) 1,000,000 copies of an illustrated digest of the New York City Health Code.
- (6) Various posters and car cards for store windows and other purposes.

Strong emphasis is placed on sidewalk litter baskets. They are basic to a clean-city program because they provide a way to dispose of litter and trash.

Proper enforcement of the health and anti-litter laws is essential.

The program also relies heavily on the mechanical brooms for street sweeping. They have alternate-side-of-the-street parking to permit the sweeper to get to the curb.

Now, what did they accomplish with all this effort? Surveys have indicated decided improvement in the cleanliness of sidewalks but there is considerable room for added improvements. The prevalence of heavy litter declined considerably but the area of light litter is

still a big problem. The adequacy of garbage-refuse containers improved but still provides room for improvement.

There is in New York City a massive effort to beautify the big city. Some seasonal planting projects have been well publicized but many others have been simple and effective without fanfare.

The committee has reached the definite conclusion that their clean-up campaign has inspired beautification. As has been said many times, you don't or shouldn't put make-up on a dirty face. The big city is indeed becoming more attractive.

Let's now get specific about what should and could be done to make Paducah a clean and beautiful city. I think that we should also gear our thinking and planning toward two or three specific areas. The first and probably the most important is the one of civic pride. With the rich history of Paducah and the great men who have lived here, it is only natural that civic pride should be paramount. Another avenue that we want to consider is the tourists that visit or pass through Paducah on the way to Kentucky Lake, Barkley Lake, or vacation on the Ohio River. The avenue of industrial promotion should not be overlooked but I am convinced that doing a good job on the first two will lay a good sound foundation for this one.

Paducah is presently in the throes of being torn up by storm sewer installation and urban renewal projects. These two developments create unsightly conditions which are accepted by the citizens as necessary evils. It is however necessary to expend every effort to clean up these areas as soon as they are completed. This is especially

true in the urban renewal areas. It is my understanding that the city commission is working on a schedule of city clean-up first and for this they are to be commended. The clean-up after the completion of these projects might seem trivial to some people but it is an attainable goal. To me, it is more commendable to accomplish small goals than spin wheels on major undertakings that probably cannot be completed.

Is the sanitary department or some other appropriate department properly and adequately staffed and equipped? I am sure that the city administration is plagued with many more demands for funds than are available. I am sure that if the city commission wants a clean and beautiful city it must start at the clean-up level first. It must provide and maintain attractive and adequate trash cans. This is an expensive item but one that must be met. It is the type of program or project that needs continual scrutiny and examination. In the long run, it is the cheapest way to begin to have a clean city.

The next avenue to travel is soap and water and paint. I have purposely placed soap and water first. This is a project that some or all civic clubs could sponsor and guide. There is nothing more attractive than a street which has clean store fronts and windows. A few dabs of new paint will help but the cheaper soap and water is a fine and good start.

A planting program will certainly follow a sincere clean-up program. The planting program need not be one with fanfare but can be one in small areas and by individuals. It should, within reason, follow some general development plan which could be developed by the

Civic Beautification Board. There might now be such a development plan. My experience in working with people has shown that leadership is needed to gain the best and lasting results. This is where a well organized and dedicated board, council or committee can be helpful. They could provide the guidance and advice on the overall developed plan.

Lets consider for a few moments the tourists who will visit and come through Paducah. Actually this group could and should be placed into two catagories. The first group we should concern ourselves with are those who are specifically visiting Paducah. A city that has the history of Alben Barkley and Irvin Cobb will always enjoy a tourist business. The atomic plant and the facilities of the Ohio River will also attract numbers of people who are sightseeing and vacationing. I know that Paducah wants these people to return for another visit. One necessary part of their desire to return is a clean and attractive city. This is not something that is always obvious but a feeling that exists in the minds of would-be returning visitors.

Now we need to consider those visitors who come to Paducah because of the tremendous park and recreation facilities on Kentucky Lake, Barkley Lake, and the recreational area between the lakes. I know that Paducah feels their presence and the economy enjoys many benefits from their visiting and vacationing in the area. Again, how beautiful and attractive is your city is an element in their deciding whether they will visit Paducah again on their next vacation in the area. This type of visitor is not willing and will not accept the

choas that the home people will accept that is brought about by city improvement. If you want to continue to attract these people you must be clean.

I want to briefly discuss the contribution that beautification and clean-up makes in industrial development. I could site many examples of industrial growth because of a clean city. I will mention London, Kentucky which is in the Applachian section of Kentucky. London is a clean and attractive city. Through local leadership and the willingness of individuals to call spades SPADES, London has enjoyed the benefits of a clean and attractive city. Because of these qualifications it has also enjoyed its share of industrial growth. The city and the county has attacked the garbage dump problem with resolve and public funds. I think that too often public officials tie the purse string of the public funds too tightly. I know that we do not want city councils, fiscal courts, etc. being too loose or extravagant with money but at the same time we expect them to use these funds for necessary and worthwhile projects and causes. A clean and beautiful city is one such cause.

June 30, 1968

FINAL REPORT ON GRANT 67-006-015

During the past two years Paducah Junior College participated in two projects funded under Title I of the Higher Education Act. The purpose of these programs was to explore problems in Urbanization--not to give the solution to these problems, but to encourage this community to search for those solutions most applicable to our local needs. Like other communities now experiencing the rapid transfer of population from a rural to an urban environment, parts of Paducah and McCracken County have suffered from disorientation and decay. In planning our seminars, we felt that we must stimulate the leadership of this community; then, we should awaken a larger segment of the population of this area to the need to implement the decisions of the "creative minority;" and, finally, we must establish rapport with those whose existence must be changed before the process of urban decay and the growth of poverty pockets can be retarded. Therefore, our first program was offered under grant 66-1-7 during the school year 1966-1967 and was designed to awaken the creative element within our society to the magnitude of our problems. To this end we sent letters of invitation to members of both city and county governments as well as to other interested civil leaders. The response was gratifying. Our series of lectures by guest speakers with academic and practical expertise was well-received. We felt that the results of this initial program would be lost unless some means could be found to sustain the enthusiasm generated by the series of speakers. Also, more and more of the population should be exposed to similar investigations of urban issues, such as poverty, housing, attraction

of industry, beautification of the urban scene, and so forth. The current project sought to reach a broader segment of our population and hoped to inspire them to imitate the reforms suggested by the experience of other communities. Both of these programs conform with our stated purpose as a public, tax-supported college--that of service to our community.

Paducah Junior College began in the fall of 1932 with little but hope. The daring of its board was surpassed only by their conviction that the purpose of this institution was to render service to its locale. Imagine what it was to establish an institution of higher learning in the midst of the worst depression in our history! With one fourth of those actively seeking employment out of work, one would hardly think it a propitious moment to found a college. Over the years the institution has grown, but it has not forgotten its obligation to its community, nor has the community forsaken the school. In 1936, the city of Paducah voted upon itself a tax to support the institution; in 1951, additions were made to the original structure through the contributions of the Paducah-McCracken County War Memorial Association and individuals; and in 1962, the city raised its obligations and the voters of McCracken County agreed to match that tax rate so that the school might move to a new campus, which we did in 1964. Yet, like our urban communities today, the school found itself unable to cope with its increased size without penalty to its community; therefore, it was forced to seek other sources of revenue. Size and cost increase geometrically, a fact that we learned, and one that the planners of urban change must also realize before they can hope to cope with urban sprawl and the rapid rate of urban growth.

Only by merging with the Community College System of the University of Kentucky could we at Paducah Junior College hope to fulfill our obligation to our community; only by appeals to agencies with capacities beyond the abilities of the local unit can we hope to deal with the urban crisis. Only by utilizing the expert knowledge and the administrative acumen available to decision makers today can we hope to find solutions to our distresses arising from urbanization.

Change is a process; each phase of this process requires a different set of participants. Since our original program had been aimed at the "creative minority," and had been successful in arousing their interest, now was the time to institute three additional steps. Paducah Junior College received the current grant of \$3,300 (matched by \$1,100 in local funds) under Title I to put these steps into action: (1) to present a series of five lectures by prominent speakers upon topics geared to community needs; also to allow interested parties to engage in direct question and answer sessions with the guest speakers after each lecture to better assess and implement the ideas presented in the forum paper; (2) to open channels of understanding and communication between the academic community and the local administration by gathering data on actual community conditions through use of research facilities of a major university; and (3) to initiate an experimental program in taking the performing arts, such as drama, music, painting, and other cultural programs, to depressed areas in hopes of establishing rapport with this subculture that might prove to be a vital link in the process of creative reform of regional problems.

We at Paducah Junior College feel that our faculty is primarily

a teaching faculty rather than a research faculty. We do offer our services for various agencies operating in community cultural, social, and educational programs. However, we felt that to better serve the needs of our community in this year's program, we could rely more upon our resources than we did in 1966-1967. In consequence, one innovation inaugurated this year was to have one of our faculty conduct a major segment of our program--that of cultural enrichment through the arts--which was ably led by Jacquelyn Clark. In addition, Mr. B. Coles Mallory, the City Manager of Paducah, and Dr. Charles G. Smith of our faculty served as co-directors of the project until Mr. Mallory left our community to take another position early in 1968.

Our original plan projected eight guest speakers; this was reduced to five due to conflicts in scheduling, inclement weather, and the increased demands upon our faculty occasioned by the transfer of our institution from local control into a branch of the University of Kentucky. Another factor that was involved in the decision to reduce the number of speakers was that the reception of the series of plays offered under the direction of Mrs. Clark was so great that we felt that the community would benefit from additional effort in this area; therefore, local matching funds were committed so that more people could have an opportunity to see these presentations. Also attendance at the scheduled appearances seldom exceeded thirty while the plays never had less than capacity (130). Total attendance neared 3,000.

Among the plays offered were representative works from recognized American authors as well as representative works from other countries. The presentations were The Happy Journey to Camden and Trenton,

an one-act experimental work by Thorton Wilder, Marian Kleinau's Interpretation of Lorca's Poetry, and Fox In A Fix, a work in three acts by Lois Dean. The latter play was taken to the various elementary schools in the area and presented to obviously appreciative audiences. Being interested in establishing contact with the urban poor, we felt that the best place to make such a linkage would be with those whose aspirations have not yet been blunted beyond recall. If they are to escape their milieu of despair, they must have some appreciation of what is possible to one who seeks. Thus, we aimed to stimulate them to aspire beyond their environments, even through fantasy, hoping to awaken them to rise above their reality.

Five guest speakers appeared on the program sponsored under grant 67-006-015 at Paducah Junior College during 1967-1968. Each speaker was asked to present an address of about an hour. After a short break, the visiting expert was to make himself available for direct questioning by the audience. The series got off to a good start, but tended to lose its momentum toward the last. All of the speakers presented papers for publication except Mr. Dagen.

The schedule of addresses was as follows:

November 30, 1967

Mr. Gordon Hopper, Executive Director of "Downtown St. Louis, Incorporated," presented an excellent summary of the rennovation of the river-front area of his city, a project holding much promise for a similar community.

December 14, 1967

Mr. Irvin Dagen, the Counselor of the city of St. Louis for the Land Clearance and Housing Authority, spoke on problems arising from inadequate urban housing.

January 30, 1968

Mr. Robert Harmon, the Executive Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce of Canton, Ohio, shared his twenty-two years of experience in seeking to attract new industry. He stressed that something other than physical facilities is required today--the community must present a favorable spirit to investigating teams from firms seeking to relocate.

February 29, 1968

Professor Dardiek of the School of Architecture of Washington University in St. Louis had a class of his to undertake a study of the feasibility of purchasing a housing tract in Paducah. While the study was more than commendable, it suffered by being presented after the local administration had decided to buy the tract. The partisans in the audience found it hard to distinguish between academic investigation and political expediency.

March 28, 1968

The final seminar was conducted by Robert Montgomery and concerned itself with beautification projects. Attendance was low. Most of those present being members of a local garden club.

Papers presented at these seminars are being published as a part of the project and will be made available to the community and to libraries in the surrounding communities.

During the interval between the application for grant 67-006-015 and its presentation, the composition of the municipal government changed, causing the programs to lose some of its continuity. Community interest waned, except toward the part of the program introducing the performing arts. Assessment of those attending indicates that the majority attending felt that the two-year program was beneficial; but it had reached the limits of its effectiveness; therefore, we did not seek to extend its scope through a third year.

PADUCAH JUNIOR COLLEGE
BLANDVILLE ROAD
PADUCAH, KENTUCKY
1967-1968

FINAL FINANCIAL REPORT

TITLE I

Grant No. 67-006-015

Grant Award (Federal Share)	\$ 3,300.00
Institution's Share	<u>1,100.00</u>
Total Funds Available for Project	\$ 4,400.00

Expenditures:

Personnel Costs

Project Co-Director, B. Cowles Mallory	225.00	
Project Co-Director, D. J. Clemens	225.00	
Faculty Advisor, Dr. Charles Smith	530.00	
Cultural Director, Jacquelyn Clark	150.00	
John Robertson, Consultation Fee		
(Writing and Editing Final Report)	50.00	
Honorariums for Visiting Speakers	1,000.00	
Clerical Services	<u>309.01</u>	
		2,489.01

Material Costs

Stage Scenery and Costumes	614.36	
Telephone Calls	9.25	
Materials and Mailing Costs		
(2 mailings, 116 ea. @ 10¢)	23.20	
Materials for Final Report	45.85	
Printing Costs for 200 copies		
of publication <u>Seminar on</u>		
<u>Urban Transformation</u>	<u>352.01</u>	
		1,044.67

Travel Expenses

Expenses for 5 speakers, based		
on 8¢ per mile	<u>250.00</u>	
		<u>250.00</u>

Total Direct Costs

3,783.68

Indirect Costs (20% of Total Direct Costs
for Facilities and Overhead)

756.74

TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR PROJECT

\$ 4,540.72

*Overspent Budget \$140.72

Mrs. W. E. Puckett
Mrs. W. E. Puckett, Fin. Sec.

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